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THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR, 700 - 1225

BY

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## PREFACE

The main purpose of this work is to present short biographical accounts of the lives of the scholars who were either natives of or visitors to Nishapur from the beginning of the eighth century to the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

The content of the work can best be illustrated by a brief account of the method chosen to present it. After the General Introduction, the work is divided chronologically into four parts dealing respectively with the periods from 700 to 900, 900 to 1000, 1000 to 1100 and 1100 to 1225. Each part is prefaced by a historical introduction to the period and is then divided into five sections according to the five categories I have employed to denote the particular field of scholarship in which each of those scholars who died within that period was most renowned, videlicet, (1) the traditionists, (2) the jurists and the theologians, (3) the mystics, (4) the readers and the commentators of the Qur'an and (5) the men of letters and the poets. In each section, there is an introduction indicating the most significant trends occurring within that field of scholarship in the period and mentioning the most celebrated scholars connected therewith. Following this introduction are biographical notes of all the relevant scholars who practised in this field in that period. These biographies are arranged in chronological order according to the dates of death of the scholars, with the exception of the biographies of those scholars whose exact dates of death are unknown and these are listed at the end of each section. Finally,

the work is supplemented by four lists tabling respectively (1) the teachers and their pupils, (2) the scholars who taught in the madrasas, (3) the qāḍīs and the Chiefs of the qāḍīs and (4) the scholars who acted as muftīs. Each list is also arranged chronologically.

With regard to the transliteration of the characters of Arabic into those of English, I have followed the system employed by the Muir Institute of Edinburgh University, and in this connection I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness to my supervisor, the Reverend Professor W. Montgomery Watt, for his assistance.

## ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

TITLES AND AUTHORS

- A L = Huart, Arabic Literature.
- Ans = as-Sam'ānī, al-Ansāb.
- B G A = Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, (Leiden).
- B I = Bibliotheca Islamica (Cairo, Istanbul and Beirut).
- Bos = Bosworth, The Ghaznavids their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040.
- B S O(A)S = Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies (London).
- Bughyat = aṣ-Ṣuyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu'at.
- E I<sup>1</sup> = Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition, (Leiden).
- E I<sup>2</sup> = Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition.
- G A L = Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (Leiden).
- G A L S = Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplementbände, (Leiden).
- G M S = E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series (London).
- H Kh = Ḥajjī-Khalīfa, Kashf aṣ-ṣunūn.
- I Fun = Ibn-Funduq, Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq.
- I Ḥ = Ibn-Ḥajar, Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb.
- I Kh = Ibn-Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān.
- Irsh = Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb li-ma'rifat al-adīb.
- J A O S = Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven, Connecticut).
- J R A S = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
- Jaw = Ibn-Abī-'l-wafā' al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya.

Kāmil = Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fi't-ta'rīkh.

Kashf = al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-mahjūb.

Khaṭ = al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād.

L H P = Browne, A Literary History of Persia.

Lub = Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb.

M B = Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān.

Miftāḥ = Ṭāsh-Kūprē-Zāde, Miftāḥ as-sa'āda wa misbāḥ as-siyāda.

Mizān = ad-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidād fī naqd ar-rijāl.

Muntaẓam = Ibn-al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa'l-umam.

M W = Muslim World (Leiden).

Naf = Jāmī, Nafaḥāt al-uns.

S E I = Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden).

Sha' = ash-Sha'rānī, aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā al-musammāt bi-lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār.

Shadh = Ibn-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab.

Siyāq = al-Fārisī, as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr.

Subk = as-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā.

Sulam = as-Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya.

Tadh = adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz.

T K M = Ibn-'Asākir, Tabyyīn kadhib al-muftarī.

T N = al-Ḥākim an-Naysabūrī, Ta'rīkh-i Nīshāpūr.

T Q = Ibn-al-Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'.

Wafī = aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wafī bi'l-wafayāt.



## INTRODUCTION TO THE SOURCES

Much of the information on which this thesis is based is derived from biographical works and to a lesser extent from chronological works written by Muslim writers. These writers' source of information about the scholars of the city of Nishapur consisted of the works of two eminent scholars and natives of that city: the first was the author of the history of the local scholars of Nishapur, al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh al-Bayyī' ( III. Q. 3 ). He finished writing his work Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Naysābūr (frequently called Ta'rīkh Naysābūr) in 998, in eight thick volumes. Apparently a copy of this work came into the possession of the Turkish bibliographer Ḥajjī-Khalīfa (d. 1658), who read this work with admiration. He remarks that the majority of the men mentioned are his masters or the masters of his masters. He mentioned also the Companions and the Followers who came to Khurasan and resided there and he investigated and gave information about their nisbas and their history. Next he gives the second generation of Followers, then the generations of the 3rd and the 4th century of the Hijra. He divided them into six 'classes', ṭabaqāt; the persons of each generation were arranged in alphabetical order and the sixth and last class consists of those persons who taught traditions between the year 933 and 990. Though we do not possess this book to-day, it is extensively quoted by later biographers, such as the authors of works which I used, as-Subkī,

Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', as-Sam'ānī, Ibn-Ḥajar, adh-Dhahabī, Ibn-al-Jawzī, Ibn-Khallikān, Yāqūt and others. The information which this book gives through these writers forms the biographical notes on a great number of the scholars which are given in the first and second part (700-1000) of this thesis. It might be worth mentioning here the abridged Persian version of this book which was made by Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan (or Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn) known as al-Khalīfa an-Naysābūrī. His abridgment is extant, and is of some use with regard to the biographical information he gives; it could be looked on as an index to the original work. He ended his compilation with valuable detailed information on the geography and the history of Nishapur.

The second work written about the local scholars of Nishapur was by 'Abd-al-Ghāfir Ismā'īl al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) who continued the work of al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī down to 1124-25. His book was entitled as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr; it is no longer extant, but it was known and extensively used by as-Subkī, Ibn-'Asākir, Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā, Ibn-Khallikān, as-Suyūṭī, Yāqūt and others. We possess at the present time an abridged version of his work which was made by Ibrāhīm ibn-Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī (d.1243). In his introduction he writes "This is a selection of the Siyāq Naysābūr, of the Imām Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. Hereafter, it is suggested by some of the dearest brothers from the party of the pupils of controversy, which I must listen to, to compile a book to include and to mention the

masters and the scholars of Naysābūr who were born and brought up there and the students who visited, passed through, settled and lectured there (the book written) upon the same line of history as a continuation of what is mentioned by al-Ḥakīm Abū-‘Abd-Allāh ...”<sup>1</sup> However aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī divided his work into sections starting with those whose names were Muḥammad and the rest of the sections are arranged alphabetically, each section being divided into three classes. He ended his work by giving a biographical note on the author of the work ‘Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. I used this abridgment extensively and in particular in dealing with the traditionists of the third part (1000-1100) and the earliest scholars of the fourth part (1100-1225) of this thesis.

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1. Siyāq., f. 1a.

GENERAL INTRODUCTORY NOTES

1. KHURASAN: ITS LOCALITY AND ITS ROLE IN EARLY ISLAMIC HISTORY

Khurasan, "the country of the rising sun", was in the earlier middle ages a vast land which included all the Muslim provinces east of the Great Desert as far as the frontier of the Indian mountains. Its outer boundaries were the Chinese desert and the Pam̄ir towards Central Asia, with the Hindū-Kush ranges towards India. In the South, Khurasan began north of Sijistān and Qūhistān; in the West, on the marches of Gurgān and Qūmis; in the East, at Ghūr and Sistān; and in the North in Transoxiana. Its principle towns were, Nishapur, Marw, Herat and Balkh; other towns included Tūs, Nasā, Abīward, Sarakhs, Tālaqān, Asfuzār, Bādghīs, Bāmiyān and Jūzjān. However, at the present day the region now designated by the name Khurasan covers less than half the area of ancient Khurasan. The part east of a line starting from Sarakhs in the north and running directly south, passing half-way between Mashhad and Herat, is now a part of Afghanistan. The region which extended from Marw to the Oxus belongs to Russia. The rest of the province remained as Persian territory with Mashhad as its administrative centre.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Hudūd al-'ālam, 102-12; M B, II, 410; Iṣṭakhri, Masālik al-mamālik., 253; Ibn-Hawqal, al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik, 308-309; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate., 382; Huart., E I<sup>1</sup>, "Khorāsān" at the present day Khurasan covers an area of 120,710 square miles, the population in 1956 was 2,023,612; Encyclopaedia Britannica, XIII, 336.

Historically, Khurasan flourished during the Greco-Bactrian period, when urban life was, according to Bosworth, stimulated by Alexander the Great's expedition to the east: his foundation of Marw and Herat was one of his great cultural achievements. This prosperity continued under the Arsacids. But under the Sāsānids as under the Achaemenids the centre of the Empire shifted to Mesopotamia and Khurasan became comparatively poor and backwards.<sup>1</sup> The eastern part of the Empire was administered under the Sāsānids by iṣbahbadh who held the title of bāthūsbān, and by four marzubāns. Each governing a quarter of the territories, 1. Marw, 2. Balkh and Ṭukhāristān, 3. Herat, Būshanj, Bādghīs and Sijistān, 4. Transoxiana.<sup>2</sup>

Then came the period of the Muslim conquest of Khurasan, Herat, Būshanj and Bādghīs were under the authority of the Sāsānid chief called 'Azīm: Herat itself particularly was under the jurisdiction of the Ephtalite Huns (Hayṭal), so that in fact the last Persian territory in the north consisted of the city of Marw-ar-Rūdh under the command of a marzubān called Bādham.<sup>3</sup> Already during the reign of the Orthodox Caliph 'Umar (reg. 634-44), the Arabs had placed some of the Sāsānid towns under tributary subjection, but it was in the reign of his successor, the Caliph 'Uthmān (reg. 644-656),

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1. Bos., 146.

2. Ibn-Khurradādhbih, Masālik al-mamālik, 18.

3. Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, 570-571; Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, I, 2885; Huart, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Khorāsān".

that the Islamic empire was finally extended eastwards. In the year 651-2, an army set out from Fārs and Qūhistān under the command of aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk ibn-Qays al-Aḥnaf. He commanded 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Āmir ibn-Kurayz to lead an expedition towards Khurasan which was successfully conducted. He invaded Khurasan by the way of Fahla, conquering Nishapur, Balkh and Tukhāristān, though al-Balādhurī tells that the Muslim army had some difficulty in taking Nishapur: at first it captured the city's surrounding districts, i.e. Busht, Bayhaq, Khawāf, Isfarā'in, Juwayn and Arghiyān. The Sāsānid governor had taken strong military precautions in Nishapur against the advancing Muslim army, but he was betrayed by the treachery of one of his marzubāns who was in charge of one of the quarters of Nishapur. This man opened the gate to the Muslims, who captured the city and forced the Persian army to surrender. 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Āmir then appointed Qays as-Sulamī governor of Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

During the civil war between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya, the Arabs were driven from Nishapur, which thus regained its independence. But the Caliph 'Alī soon sent Khulayd ibn-Qurra al-Yarbū'ī, in 657, to bring the inhabitants of Nishapur back under Islamic rule.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Balādhurī, Futūḥ al-buldān, 567-572; Dhahabī, Ta'rikh al-Islām, II, 54; Tabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, I, 2885-2886; T N, 125-130; M B, II, 410; Kāmil., III, 96-97; Ibn-Miskawayh, Tajārib al-umam wa-ta'āqib al-humam, I., f. 444.
  2. Dīnawarī, al-Akhbār at-ṭiwāl, 163-164; Tabarī op.cit., I, 3350; Kāmil., I, 273; Balādhurī, op.cit., 575.

During the period of Umayyad rule, Khurasan was subject to the governor of Baṣra, who had complete autonomy, under the Caliph in Damascus, in appointing the governors of all the eastern colonies. In Khurasan, the governor of Baṣra, Ziyād ibn-Sufyān, in the year 665, recognized the division of Khurasan into four principle states; Marw, Balkh, Herat and Nishapur. Each had its own governor deriving his authority from the governor of the province of Khurasan, whose seat was in either Marw or Balkh.<sup>1</sup>

In the second half of the seventh century, Khurasan was the scene of struggles both within and between Arab tribes. Political authority in the province had been divided between the two rival tribes of Muḍar and Rabī'a. Nishapur was occupied by the representative of the Muḍar, the Qaysite, while Marw was held by the Bakrite of the Rabī'a tribe. Most of the inter-tribal feuds took place outside Nishapur itself, to the east. The Military weakness caused by these internal disputes between the Arabs, however, encouraged the Turkish tribes to make sporadic raids into Khurasan as far as Nishapur. A temporary respite in this tribal feuding was achieved when the caliph at Damascus appointed a neutral Azdite governor, called al-Muhallab Ibn-Abī-Ṣufra, but this measure only served finally to introduce a third tribe into the fray, when, in 697, the Azdite allied with the Bakrites of Rabī'a against the Muḍar tribe. There was a fight for supremacy and the

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1. Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, I, 2831; Kāmil., III, 377.

first seemed to triumph when the family of al-Muhallab remained in power for a long time. After this, however, peace between the tribes was not achieved until 747, when the governor, Naṣr ibn-Sayyār, called the attention of the caliph of Damascus, Marwān II (reg. 744-750), to the 'Abbāsīd movement, which united the Persian peasantry and the Shī'ites under the leadership of Abū-Muslim in an attempt to overthrow the Umayyads, but the Caliph did not pay attention. However, Naṣr succeeded in uniting the warring factions temporarily against the 'Abbāsīd propaganda and the leader Abū-Muslim, who established a camp not far from Marw. Although the peace between the rival tribes put Abū-Muslim in a difficult position at the beginning, he succeeded later in winning over the Azd tribe to his side. He was then able to intervene successfully in a battle fought by Naṣr ibn-Sayyār in the streets of Marw against Ibn-al-Kirmānī, and in 748 Abū-Muslim easily took Marw. Then the whole country came under his power.<sup>1</sup>

In 750, the 'Abbāsīds came to power and kept Khurasan and other eastern provinces under their protection. During the early years of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, Iranian religious and national movements manifested themselves. These movements were directed against the Caliphate of Baghdad. In

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1. Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-buldān, 81-85. Dhahabī, Ta'rikh al-Islam, V, 201; Ibn-aṭ-ṬaqṬaqā, al-Fakhri, 232; Dīnawarī, al-Akhbār aṭ-ṭiwāl, 301-360; Wellhausen, "The Arab Tribes in Khurāsān", The Arab Kingdom and fall, 397-491; Muir, "The Arab Tribal feuds in Khurāsān", The Caliphate its rise, decline and fall, 417-421.



755, Sunbāth the Magian came from Nishapur as the avenger of Abū-Muslim, who was executed in 754 by the Caliph al-Manṣūr (reg. 754-775) but the revolt of Sunbāth was soon crushed in a battle with the 'Abbāsīd army near Rayy.<sup>1</sup> Then there was a rising in Rāwand, near Iṣpahan, which was the stronghold of the Persian extremist sect, ar-Rāwandiyya (so-called after the name of its leader Abū-'Abd-Allāh ar-Rāwandī). The sect tried to identify the Caliph al-Manṣūr with God but its revolt was ruthlessly crushed in 758.<sup>2</sup> But the strongest national movement was that of al-Muqanna's al-Mubayyiḍa and Bābak's al-Khurramdīniyya. Al-Muqanna' who led a revolt in 775 in the Zarafshān basin and who posed as an incarnation of the deity, for years defied the forces of the Caliph al-Mahdī (reg. 775-785) and according to Bosworth this movement united Iranian **national feeling against Arab** political domination. The Bābak movement of al-Muḥammira evidently arose in Adharbayjān as a result of the execution of Abū-Muslim. They denied that Abū-Muslim was dead and foretold his return to spread justice in the world. The revolt of Bābak engaged the 'Abbāsīd army for several years until Bābak was put to death in 838. And there were other

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1. Niẓām-al-Mulk, Siyāsat-nāma, 212-213; Ibn-aṭ-Ṭaḡṭaḡā, al-Fakhri, 232. Mas'ūdī, Murūj adh-dhahab., VI, 188; L H P, I, 313.
  2. Ash'arī, al-Maḡalāt wa'l-firaq., 69; Nawbakhtī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shī'a, 46; Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, III, 129-133; Mas'ūdī, op.cit., VI, 26, 54-55; L H P, I, 316.

Iranian religious movements which originated and spread in Khurasan: The Bākūkiyya, who also believed in the imāmate of Abū-Muslim, a sect with followers in Herat and Marw; the Bihāfarīdiyya, a sect named after its founder Bihāfarīd who was born in Zawzan of Nishapur; and the Ustādhīs movement of Budhghīs.<sup>1</sup>

During the ninth century vigorous local and semi-independent Persian dynasties grew up in the east of the Empire. Khurasan recovered its independence with the foundation of the Ṭāhirid dynasty by Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn who, in 820, was nominated governor of the eastern regions by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (reg. 813-833). His son 'Abd-Allāh, took Nishapur as the seat of his governorship and brought a great measure of prosperity and stability to Khurasan. Succeeding the Ṭāhirids, the Ṣaffārids of Sijistān were essentially military adventurers. Their occupation of Khurasan was short-lived. Under the Sāmānids, Khurasan and Transoxiana became a centre of culture and art, and saw the rise of the new Persian language and the development of a Perso-Islamic style of architecture and painting. The Ghaznavids of Ghazna occupied Khurasan and their rule brought peace and stability; but their period of control, too, was short, and in the end they were succeeded by the Seljūqs.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Baghdādī, al-Farq bayna al-firaq, 266-270; Ash'arī, al-Maqalāt wa'l-firaq, 64; Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 479-484. See in detail the revolt of al-Luqanna', Nārshakhi, The History of Bukhara, tr., Fraye, 65-74; cf. L H P, I, 308-336; Bos. 164.
  2. Bos., 147; see below, 25-29, 128-132, 256-274.

The Seljūqs ruled Khurasan for over a century. Tughril-Beg, Alp-Arslan and Malik-Shāh held supreme sway over the whole of the vast empire, but after the death of the last, civil war broke out between the brothers Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad, and different branches of the Seljūq family attained virtual independence in different parts of the Empire, although the main line preserved a nominal sovereignty down to the death of Sanjar, whose rule was almost confined to Khurasan. The capture of Sultan Sanjar by the Ghuzz in 1153 showed up the Seljūq failure to control Khurasan and in fact the death of Sanjar in 1157 marked the end of the Seljūq rule there. Then Khurasan became part of the Khwārizm Shāh's empire until the Mongol hordes swept across the province in 1220-21.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Sykes, A History of Persia, II, 47-50;  
see below, 457-467.

## 2. A NOTE ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF NISHAPUR

Nishapur is pronounced Nīshāpūr in modern Persian, while the Arabs pronounce it Naysābūr. The name is known to be derived from the old Persian Nīv-Shāpūr, meaning the good (thing, deed or place), of Shāpūr. He was the Sāsānid King, Shāpūr I (d. 271), who built the city in the form of a chess-board, with eight squares to each side, and erected walls measuring 15,000 paces around it.<sup>1</sup> It was rebuilt by Shāpūr II (d. 379), known to the Arabs as Shāpūr dhū-'l-Aktāf, who is said to have constructed the city about a fortress and dug a trench round it. He is also said to have erected there a huge statue of himself which remained standing till the Islamic conquest. However, the city seems to have been founded earlier than the Sāsānid period, its legendary foundation being attributed to Tahmuras, one of the Pishdadian Kings and a fourth descendant of Noah.<sup>2</sup>

By the 10th century, Nishapur was already a most populous place. Al-Iṣṭakhrī portrays a flourishing city built as a square measuring one farsakh by one farsakh, with houses built of mud and all in good condition. He says that the city was divided into three parts the citadel had two

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1. Iṣfahānī, Ta'rikh sunnī mulūk al-arḍ, I, 48; Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-qulūb, 148; Marquart, A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Īrānshahr, 12, 52; cf. Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 383;

Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, I, 261.

2. Marghanī, Ghurār akhbār mulūk al-Furs, 529; Kāmil, I, 284; Ibn-Miskawayh, Tajārīb al-umam, I, f.8, 135; Tabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul, I, 840; cf. Curzon, op.cit., I, 261. Several names were given to Nishapur such as Abra-Shahr, Īrān-Shahr and Nashāwūr, Le Strange, op.cit., 383, 385; Marquart, op.cit., 74-78.

gates (un-named by him); the city proper had four gates, Bāb-al-Qanṭara, Bāb-Sikkat Ma'qil, Bāb-Takīn and Bāb-al-Quhandiz. The surrounding suburb, too, had four main gates, on the west the gate of Qubāb opening towards Iraq and Gurgān, on the east the gate of Jang, opening towards Transoxiana, to the south the gate of Aḥwaṣ-Ābād, opening towards Fārs and Qūhistān, and, lastly, to the north, the main gate and those of Sir-Shīrīn and Sukht opening towards Tūs and Nasā. The suburb contained the Friday Mosque and the city markets. Al-Iṣṭakhri gives information as to the location of Nishapur's main market-places, the Murabba'a al-Kabīra and the Murabba'a aṣ-Ṣaghīra as well as the graveyard of al-Ḥusayn, the gate of al-Qanṭara and the Friday-Mosque. He gives the gate, the mosque, the graveyard and the Murabba'a aṣ-Ṣaghīra as respectively north, east, south and west of the market place, the Murabba'a al-Kabīra. Furthermore he notes that the Murabba'a aṣ-Ṣaghīra was the market-place near the governor's palace and the prison, which were located in the great square of al-Ḥusayn. The Friday Mosque was situated in the Mu'askar quarter.<sup>1</sup>

Writing shortly after al-Iṣṭakhri, Ibn-Ḥawqal gives an account of Nishapur quoting word for word the earlier writer, but omitting all reference to the orientation of the gate of al-Qanṭara and the Friday-Mosque, and merely

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1. Iṣṭakhri, Masālik al-mamālik, 254-255; cf. Le Strange, The land of the eastern Caliphate, 383-384.

noting that the graveyard of al-Ḥusayn is to the west (south according to al-Iṣṭakhri) of the Murabba'a al-Kabira.

However, he does make some additional references of his own: apparently the market-places contained buildings called khāns and hotels for both rich and not so rich merchants. Different kinds of merchandise had their own separate markets; cobblers, clothiers, boot-makers and others tended to have their own separate areas. Hotels and shops were attached to these markets.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Maqdisi adds to the information given by his contemporary Ibn-Ḥawqal. He writes that Nishapur was divided into 42 quarters, some of them the size of half Shīrāz. There were fifty main streets converging on the gates. He also counted 6,000 villages and 120 Friday mosques with pulpits in the twelve rustāqs of Nishapur, Busht, Bayhaq, Juwayn, Jājarm, Isfarā'in, Ustuwā, Asfand, Jām, Bākhaz, Khawāf, Zāwa and Rukhkh.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), who was a native of Nishapur and who wrote his work Ta'rīkh Naysābūr in 998, gives a considerable amount of geographical information about his city. It had 4 main squares, namely, Talājird, Hāni' Ḥasayn and Ziyād. The square of al-Ḥusayn was the largest and the meeting place of the notables of the city and the Sultans. Nishapur had twelve mosques, the earliest

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1. Ibn-Ḥawqal, al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik, 311; cf. Le Strange The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 384.

2. Maqdisi, Aḥsan at-taḡāsīm fī ma'rīfat al-aqālīm, 315-316: cf. Le Strange, op.cit., loc cit.

having been built in the quarter of ash-Shahānbar by the Muslim Commander 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Āmir ibn-Khurayz, who invaded the city in 652. Al-Hākim an-Naysāburī also gives detailed information about the Friday Mosque, whose foundation he attributes to Abū-Muslim, who occupied Nishapur in 748. The mosque extended over 30 jarībs and had 1,000 columns. It was one of the largest mosques in the city and it is said that as many as 60,000 Muslims once offered up their prayers there at one time. Inside the mosque were deep pools and running water. In the middle there was a snow store filled with snow in winter and used in summer as a source of drinking water. The roof of the great court, maqṣūra, in the mosque was supported by 12 columns; six of them were marble. Both the roof and the dome were ornamented with gold. The mosque had two minarets at one time but these were demolished by the Ṭāhirid prince, Maṣṣūr ibn-Ṭalḥa, who constructed another huge tall minaret in their place.<sup>1</sup> The Friday Mosque stood until the Ṣaffārid prince 'Amr ibn-al-Layth demolished the mosque and built his Friday Mosque in the suburb east of the city market-place the Murabba'a al-Kabīra. According to al-Maqqdisī, 'Amr ibn-al-Layth's mosque was built in six wards, its roof was supported by columns of backed brick, there were three arcades round the great court and the main building was decorated with golden tiles. There were eleven gates to the mosque, each flanked by marble columns, and both walls

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1. T N , 141-143.

and roof were profusely ornamented.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately, Nishapur was partly ruined by earthquakes in 1145, and was further badly damaged by the invasion of the Turkish hordes of al-Ghuzz in 1153. When the Seljūq general al-Mu'ayyad, recaptured Nishapur, he moved the inhabitants to the district of ash-Shādhyākh, which had formerly been a garden belonging to the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir. Ash-Shādhyākh was enlarged by al-Mu'ayyad, who also surrounded it with walls.<sup>2</sup>

Yāqūt visited Nishapur in 1216. He stated that the name of the city was commonly pronounced Nashāwūr. He saw the ruins resulting from the earthquakes of 1145 and the damage done by the Ghuzz invaders, but he claims that in spite of all this he had never seen a finer city in all Khurasan. Its gardens were famous for their white currants, ribās, and for other fruits.<sup>3</sup>

In 1221, Nishapur was taken and sacked by the Mongols, who, according to Yāqūt, did not leave 'one stone standing on another'. Nishapur (ash-Shādhyākh) was completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1280. A third city of

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1. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 316; cf. Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 384-385. In the second half of the 11th century a large mosque was built by the scholar Abū-'Alī al-Manī'ī (III. S. 15), and was called after his name, the mosque of al-Manī'ī.

2. M B, III, 228-229; Mustawfī, Nazhat al-qulūb, 148. see below, 464-465.

3. M P, IV, 857.



Nishapur was refounded on a different site, and Mustawfī, who lived in the 14th century, describes how the city had walls measuring 6,700 paces in circuit and lay at the foot of a hill, facing south. Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa visited the city at this time and he says that it was given the name of "little Damascus" because of its beauty, and the quantity of its fruit trees, orchards and streams. He adds that garments of silk and velvet were manufactured in Nishapur.

The present city of Nishapur lies 46 miles west of Mashhad and one mile north-west of the ancient Nishapur, on the eastern side of a plain, surrounded by mountains, and facing the desert which is to the south.<sup>1</sup>

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1. M B, IV, 858-859; Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-gulūb, 148; Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Rihlat, 177; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 386 ; Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 410; Encyclopaedia Britannica, XVI, 532.

### 3. AGRICULTURE AND IRRIGATION IN THE NISHAPUR OASIS

The oasis containing Nishapur and its surrounding villages lay on a raised plain. To the east was the mountain range of al-Buttam, running from Marw-ar-Rudh towards Rayy; this range twisted and formed a crescent facing Nishapur.<sup>1</sup> Much of the land in the Nishapur oasis was laid out as orchards and gardens, as well as holding land for tillage and extensive estates.<sup>2</sup> Geographers divided the oasis into four fertile quarters, or rub's, namely ash-Shāmāt, Māzul, Rīwand and Bushtafrūsh (now known as Pusht-Farūsh). This last lay a day's journey eastwards from the Jang Gate of the city of Nishapur and contained 126 villages, whose gardens produced apricots, which were exported in vast quantities.<sup>3</sup> The quarter of ash-Shāmāt was called in Persian Tak-Āb, meaning 'whence water flows'. It stretched from the Friday Mosque of the city to the rustāq of Busht about 16 farsakhs away, and though it contained an area of swampland it was known for its extraordinary fertility.<sup>4</sup> Māzul lay to the north, one farsakh from the city of Nishapur. Its chief village was Bushtaniqān

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1. Ibn-Hawqal, al-Musālik wa'l-mamālik, 109; Suhrāb , 'Ajā'ib al-aqālīm as-sab'a, 114.

2. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 314;

3. Ibid., op.cit., 317; T N , 139; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 387.

4. T N , 139; M B , III, 238; Maqdisī, op.cit., 316.

(Bushtanqān or Bushtāqān), where 'Amr ibn-al-Layth, the Ṣaffārid, had planted a famous garden, which was a favourite pleasure-resort of the Nishapurians. This district was also renowned for its currants.<sup>1</sup> The last quarter, Rīwand, with its main town of the same name, was a small district laying one stage west of Nishapur and covering the area from the Friday Mosque of Nishapur to the garden of Aḥmad-Ābād. In the 10th century Rīwand had a Friday Mosque built of backed brick, standing on the town's river. Rīwand was famous for its vineyards and quinces, which were exported in immense quantities.<sup>2</sup>

The soil of the oasis of Nishapur was considered very fertile: its black earth, as Bosworth remarks, indicated a loamy nature. Fraser visited Nishapur nearly a century and a half ago and found in many places in the ruined city of Nishapur soil which contained a considerable proportion of rich loam to sand. He also noticed a thick coat of grass over much of the oasis. Bosworth comments on Fraser's statement: "This has resulted from the conversion of the mixed arable-pastoral farming of pre-Seljuq times into the predominance of pasture under the Turkmen and Kurdish nomads".<sup>3</sup>

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1. T N, 139; al-Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, 317; M B, I, 630.

2. Ibid., II, 891-892; T N, 138; Maqdisī, op.cit., 316-317; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 387.

3. Maqdisī, op.cit., 315; Bos., 153; Fraser, Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822., 391.

The most important agricultural unit in Khurasan was the rūstā or rustāq on which Nishapur depended for its food supply. Most of the products of Nishapur were consumed locally, except for the edible earth of Zawzan and the currants, which were exported. In the 10th century, Nishapur imported food-stuffs from Ustuwā, the rustāq which lay a fair distance away from Nishapur, towards Nasā, on the head-waters of the Atrek. Rustāq Busht which lay at a distance of 16 farsakhs from Nishapur, was one of the most fertile in Khurasan, renowned for its moderate climate and its immense quantity of fruits, especially figs and grapes, although olives were also planted there, and it was a centre of grain production. It exported its food stuffs not only to Nishapur but to the other cities in Khurasan. Sarakhs, near Marw, was also regarded as a great centre of grain products and an important supplier of Nishapur. Al-Maqdisī noted that the amount of the grain exported each week from Sarakhs equalled that exported from Egypt to Qulzūm and Hījāz.<sup>1</sup>

In the 10th century the markets of Nishapur were full of food-stuff in sufficient quantity, but later the inhabitants suffered the effects of two disastrous famines, one in 1011, when owing to early frost the grain failed to open and the citizens suffered so terribly that it is said 100,000 people in Nishapur died, and another in

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1. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, 313, 317-319; Ans., f.31a; cf. Bos., 153-154; Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 180.

1101, when famine broke out in the city owing to the heavy taxation imposed by the Sultan Sanjar: during this time some people are said to have eaten human flesh publicly.<sup>1</sup>

Nishapur and its surrounding plain made use of water from streams, springs and wells which provided 300 quarters of the city with water. Cold spring water ran swiftly in the streams descending the mountains to the north-east.

The Wādī-Saghāwar was the largest river in Nishapur, as far as we can gather. Coming from the village of Bushtaniqān, it turned about 70 mills, and had many people living on its banks, before passing across the oasis towards the city for 2 farsakhs. Within the city and between the houses there were also many wells of sweet water.<sup>2</sup>

Mustawfī, who lived in the 14th century, noted that the water supply was plentiful, for Nishapur's river had a strong enough current still to turn 40 mills before it came to the city.<sup>3</sup>

But one of the most important sources of water to Nishapur was artificial irrigation, by qanāts. Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3) attributes the foundation of this method to the legendary Pishdadian King Manūchīhr. This qanāt system of

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1. 'Utbi, at-Ta'riḫ al-Yamīnī, II, 125-128; Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'riḫ-i Yamīnī, 200-202; I Fun., 175-176; Kāmil., IX, 158; See below, 460; cf. Bos., 161-162; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 287-288.
  2. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 329; al-Iṣṭakhri, Masālik al-mamālik, 225; Bos., 155; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 385.
  3. Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-qulūb, 148; Bos., loc.cit., Le Strange, op.cit., 386.

irrigation was improved during the period of Arab domination. It is reported that the governor of Khurasan, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir, according to Gardīzī, commissioned jurists from Khurasan and Iraq and instructed them to write an authoritative text-book on the legal aspects of qanāts and the use of their water. The book which they produced, Kitāb al-qunī, still served as a reference for the solution of similar disputes two centuries later in the time of Gardīzī.<sup>1</sup> In the 10th century al-Maqdisī reported 70 underground qanāts in Nishapur, fed from four main qanāts whose branches came to the surface in the surrounding villages as well as in some quarters of the city. Even in the heat of summer their water was cool.<sup>2</sup> Ibn-Ḥawqal also recorded the existence of qanāts and their coming to the surface in the rustāqs. He also reported that some of them were so deep it needed 100 steps to reach them.<sup>3</sup> Yāqūt reported that the source of the water in the qanāts was an underground lake and added that the water was very sweet.<sup>4</sup> In the time of Mustawfī, the 14th century, many of the qanāts fell into ruin and the city depended on its river for its water supply: he relates further that most of the houses in

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1. T N , 138; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 8; cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 213; Bos., 157.

2. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, 329.

3. Ibn-Ḥawqal, al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik, 312;

4. M B , IV, 857;

Nishapur had cisterns for storing water in the dry season. Among the ganāts of Nishapur mentioned by writers are those supplying the quarters of al-Ḥīra, Balfāwā, ash-Shādhyākh and Bāb al-Ma'mar and the street of perfumers, the ganāts of Abū-'Amr al-Khaffāf ( II. I. 5 ), Suwār, Sahl-tāshīn, Ḥamra-yi 'ulyā (Ḥamza-yi 'ulyā), Kharkabādh, two ganāts, the upper and the lower, coming from the village of Jūrī and that of Jahm from the village of Dastjird.<sup>1</sup>

Fraser visited the ancient city of Nishapur and estimated that throughout the different quarters of Nishapur there were 14,000 distinct villages: all were inhabited and were irrigated by 12,000 ganāts and 18 small rivers from the mountains.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Mustawfī, Nuzhat al-qulūb , 148; T N , 121;  
 Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 329; Bos., 155; Le  
 Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 386;  
 Fraser, Narrative of a journey into Khorasan., 405.

#### 4. NISHAPUR: TRADE AND INDUSTRY

Nishapur, in the Middle Ages, was a centre for many branch caravan routes. One route ran southwards to Tabas on the border of the Great Desert in Qūhistān. Another went to Qāyin. A third and the longest route ran south to Shīrāz in Fārs and reached the Persian Gulf. Yet another went south-eastwards to Herat and reached Zaranj in Sijistān. Finally, and most important, Nishapur lay on the great caravan route going eastwards from Baghdad to the frontier town of Jaxartes on the borders of China.<sup>1</sup> By the use of this route Nishapur provided the western cities of the Empire with its products. Its garments of silk were popular and cherished among the Iraqīs and the Egyptians of the 10th century. Its currants, ribās, were considered the best in Khurasan and were presented at the dinner-tables of the Caliphs in Baghdad. Above all else, Nishapur in the 10th century exported the most delicious luxury food-stuff of the period, 'edible earth'. This delicacy was exported to Turkestan as well as to Iraq and Egypt. Ath-Tha'ālibī ( III. X. 11 ) noted that it was very dear in Egypt, selling at one dinar a pound. The Caliphs ate it as a dessert. The best variety was green like rape but more glossy. The chief source of edible earth was the

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1. Ibn-Khurradādhbih, al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik, 41, 50-5; Ibn-al-Faqīh, Kitāb al-buldān, 208-246; Le Strange, The lands of the eastern Caliphate, 9-10.



district of Zawzan in Nishapur and it was also found in Qūhistān.<sup>1</sup>

In the 10th century, then, Nishapur became one of the most prosperous cities of Khurasan. Its markets were full of cheap food-stuffs and its merchandize was distributed to many lands. It became an international centre of trade, an entrepôt, furḍa, for Fārs, Sind and Kirmān and a depôt, maṭrah, for Khwārizm, Rayy and Gurgān.<sup>2</sup> Already in the 11th century Nishapurian currency was high in value and circulated extensively as money economy became increasingly adopted in this period. However, the value of currency was not necessarily the same in all parts of the Islamic empire. At the beginning of the 10th century, Khurasan coins had less value in Iraq. In the former region, the value of gold rose enormously towards the end of the 10th century for political reasons. The Caliph al-Qā'im tried, in 1036, to destroy the superior currency of his opponents, the Fāṭmids. He abandoned the use of the Fāṭimid currency, the Maghribī dinars, in commercial transactions and recognized only the Qādirī, the Qāshānī and the Nīshāpurī dinars.<sup>3</sup>

The manufacturing industry of Khurasan was indeed, as

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1. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, 314-315, 326 n.e.; Tha'ālībī, Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif, 192; Mez, The renaissance of Islam, 436; Bos., 153.
  2. Maqdisī, op.cit., 314-315; Bos., 150.
  3. Muntaẓam, VIII, 88; Kāmil, IX, 308; Mez, op.cit., 475; Bos., 150.

Bosworth remarks, on a small scale and on a local basis. In the 10th century, Nishapur produced its own ironware, needles, knives and other articles. According to Hudūd al-‘ālam, there were mines in the mountains of Khurasan, yielding turquoise, copper, lead, antimony, iron, gold and silver. From the hills around Nishapur itself came copper and turquoise. In fact, Abū-Dulaf remarks that the quality of the copper from the mines of Nishapur was superior to any other in the world.<sup>1</sup> The turquoise of Nishapur was also of the best quality and its fame reached as far as China for it is reported that a Chinese author of the 14th century included in a list of jewels of the Muslims ni-she-bu-di turquoises as being distinguished by their fine structure. At the present day, there are still turquoise mines, they lie to the north-east of the city of Mashhad, 30 miles from the ancient city of Nishapur, and cover an area of about 40 square miles.<sup>2</sup>

However, Nishapur's most famous produce was textiles, of silk, cotton, linen and velvet. Most renowned of all was the industry of the thin white cloth called aṭ-ṭāhiriyya, named after the Ṭāhirid princes. Also famous were the ‘attābī, as-sa‘īdī, aṣ-ṣarā‘ifī and al-mushshutī, all made

1. Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqasīm., 325-326; Hudūd al-‘ālam, 102-103; Abū-Dulaf, Abū-Dulaf Mis‘ar ibn Muḥalhil's Travels in Iran., Tr. Minorsky, 59; Bos., 151.

2. Tha‘alibī, Laṭā‘if al-ma‘ārif, 193; Maqdisī, op.cit., 336; Bretschneider, Mediaeval Researches, I, 175; Curzon, Persia and the Persian question, I, 264-267; Bos., 151.

of silk. Nishapur's craftsmen produced also materials made from either silk or linen, and called ar-rākhtaj and at-tākhtanj. Turbans, called ash-shāhjāniyya, were also manufactured, along with veils and underwear. Nishapur's velvet garments were considered the best and in the 14th century Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa said the Nishapurian garments of silk and velvet were exported to India. Ath-Tha'ālībī reports that the 'attābī and the saqilātūnī brocades of Nishapur were as good as those manufactured in Baghdad and Iṣpahan. Bosworth notes that Nishapur manufactured cloth of all grades: for the mass of the people there were utilitarian cottons and felts, while brocade was produced to meet the demands of the court, for official ceremonies and for the harems.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tha'ālībī, Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif, 194-195; Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm, 323; Ibn-Baṭṭūṭa, Riḥla, 177; Bos., 151.

PART ONE

THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR WHO DIED BETWEEN  
700 - 900.

## II

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTORY NOTE

## THE ṬĀHIRIDS' PATRONAGE OF LEARNING

The political importance of Nishapur came to be recognized first under the Ṭāhirid dynasty, when, during the governorship of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir (828-844), it became the capital of Khurasan.

The Ṭāhirids were the first dynasty to establish a state east of Baghdad which was semi-independent of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. The founder of the dynasty, Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn, was a descendant of a Persian slave and had at one time been a commander of the troops of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (reg. 813-833) when he had earned his master's respect and trust by defeating the forces of al-Amin (reg. 809-813). As a reward for this, al-Ma'mūn, in 820, appointed him governor of Khurasan. But Ṭāhir soon began to dissociate himself from the Caliphate and by the time of his death, two years after his appointment as governor, he had omitted all reference to the Caliph's name in the khutba.<sup>1</sup> Ṭāhir was succeeded in Khurasan by his son Ṭalḥa (reg. 822-828); after him reigned 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir, who was the most famous of the Ṭāhirid governors. During the reign of his father he was appointed by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn governor of Raqqa and Egypt and at the same time the

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1. Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbar, 5; Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-buldān, 90-91; Shadh., II, 16-17; Mas'ūdī, Murūj adh-dhahab, VI 423; Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, III, 829; Kāmil., VI, 255, 270; for general survey on the Ṭāhirids, see Barthold, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ṭāhirids".

commander of the Caliph's troops. While he was at Dīnawar, combatting the revolt of Bābak the Khurramite, his brother Ṭalḥa died and he was appointed by al-Ma'mūn to succeed Ṭalḥa. 'Abd-Allāh established a stable government in Khurasan and made Nishapur his official capital: he laid out gardens in the Shādhyākh district of the city, where he also erected many buildings.<sup>1</sup> During the reign of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, (reg. 833-842) 'Abd-Allāh successfully crushed the revolts of the 'Alid pretender, Muḥammad ibn-al-Qāsim, in 834-5 and in 838-9, in Ṭabaristān, which was under the jurisdiction of the governor of Khurasan. He also subdued the more dangerous revolt of Māziyār, who had been incited to rebel by al-Afshīn.<sup>2</sup> Though he did much for the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim, he was hated by the Caliph because of a personal criticism expressed by 'Abd-Allāh when al-Mu'taṣim became Caliph. It is related by al-Gardīzī that al-Mu'taṣim tried to poison 'Abd-Allāh by sending him a slave girl with a gift of poisoned cloth, but the attempt failed because the slave girl fell in love with him and revealed the Caliph's plot.<sup>3</sup> It was under 'Abd-Allāh that the Ṭāhirids reached the zenith of their power. Their territory at this time comprised Rayy Kirmān, in addition to

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1. Ya'qubī, Kitāb al-buldān, 91; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 6; Kāmil, VI, 257, 292; M B, III, 228-229; Khaṭ., IX, 483-489; Shadh., II, 68.
  2. Iṣfahānī, Maqātil aṭ-Ṭalibiyyīn, 577-589; Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, III, 1275; Gardīzī, op.cit., 8.
  3. Ibid., op.cit., 7; the biography of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir with references, see Marin E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abd-Allāh B. Ṭāhir".

Khurasan proper and the lands east of it as far as the frontier of India. After his death in 844 his son Ṭāhir succeeded him, and Muḥammad succeeded Ṭāhir in 862. The Ṭāhirid dynasty collapsed during Muḥammad's reign as a result of the attack of Ya'qūb the Ṣaffārid who took Khurasan in 872.<sup>1</sup>

The Ṭāhirids seem to have been not only statesmen but also learned men and patrons of learning and culture. The founder, Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn, was celebrated as a poet of note and as an author. Ibn-an-Nadīm noted in his work, al-Fihrist, that Ṭāhir's famous prose work was his letter, Risāla, to his benefactor, the Caliph al-Ma'mūn.<sup>2</sup> When Ṭāhir was a general of the Caliph in Baghdad his court attracted the scholars of that city such as al-Khuẓā'ī ( I. H. 5 ) al-Muhallabī ( I. H. 4 ) and Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rābī ( I. H. 2 ). He took them with him to Khurasan when he became a governor. It is related that al-Muhallabī became his tutor in philology and earned his respect and favour and Abū-'l-'Amaythal became one of his favourite poets in his court.<sup>3</sup>

'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir surpassed his father in the interest he took in the field of education and learning.

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1. Mas'ūdī, Murūj adh-dhahab, VIII, 42; Ṭabarī, Ta'rīkh ar-rusul wa'l-mulūk, III, 1880; Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-bulḍān, 91.
  2. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 170.
  3. Ibid., op.cit., 72-73.

‘Abd-Allāh himself was an accomplished musician and a poet of note in his own right. He strongly supported all things Arabic and renounced Persian culture. He brought general education to the lower classes of people: his attitude is illustrated by his saying, "knowledge must be available to the worthy and unworthy; knowledge will take care of itself and not remain with the unworthy."<sup>1</sup> His court in Nishapur was open to the many poets, scholars and writers not only of Nishapur but particularly of Iraq. It is reported by Yāqūt that ‘Abd-Allāh himself requested the Caliph al-Ma’mūn to send him scholars from his court in Baghdad and that the Caliph granted his request and instructed three scholars from his court to go to the governor's court in Nishapur; they were al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Faḍl al-Bajalī, Abū-Sa‘īd aḍ-Ḍarīr ( I. H. 3 ) and Abū-Ishāq al-Qurashī and when they arrived in Nishapur they were housed in the quarter of ‘Azra.<sup>2</sup> Of the three scholars, we know Abū-Sa‘īd aḍ-Ḍarīr, who became the chief librarian of ‘Abd-Allāh's rich library in Nishapur. ‘Abd-Allāh also favoured the scholar Abū-’l-‘Amaythal, who previously had been mentioned as a favourite poet of his father's court, and whom he also appointed as the chief librarian as well as tutor to his sons.<sup>3</sup> The eminent scholar

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1. Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 8. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 170: cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 213.

2. Irsh., I, 122.

3. Ibn-an-Nadīm, op.cit., 72; see below, 116-117.



of Nishapur, Ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ), who was introduced to the court of 'Abd-Allāh by Yahya ibn-Yahya an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ), was honoured and respected by 'Abd-Allāh and eventually became one of his intimate friends.<sup>1</sup> It might suffice to mention here that the court poet of al-Mu'taṣim Abū-Tammām ( I. H. 1 ) was attracted by the fame of the governor of Khurasan 'Abd-Allāh and that the poet, when he came to Nishapur, sang the praises of the governor in many poems.<sup>2</sup>

The Tāhirids produced two outstanding scholars; the most eminent was the nephew of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Tāhir, Manṣūr ibn-Talḥa, the governor of Marw, Āmul and Khwārizm. He was noted as a scientist and a philosopher and he wrote several works on mathematics and astronomy. His book al-Mu'nis fi'l-mūsīqā was read with interest and admiration by his contemporary, the famous Muslim philosopher al-Kindī. 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-Tāhir, was celebrated as a man of letters and a poet. 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Tāhir calls him the 'wisdom', hukm, of the Tāhirids. He was the author of several works, among them a collection of his Risālas dedicated to the famous poet Ibn-al-Mu'tazz (d. 908). However 'Ubayd-Allāh spent most of his life in Baghdad where he occupied the position of chief of police.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., I, 232-233.

2. See below, 117.

3. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 170; I Kh., I, 233; cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 213.

## III

THE TRADITIONISTSTHE COLLECTORS OF TRADITIONS: AL-BUKHĀRĪ AND MUSLIM

The word tradition (ḥadīth 'narrative, talk') has the particular meaning of a record of the actions or sayings of the Prophet and sometimes of the Companions or Successors. Tradition came to be ranked as the authority second to the Qur'ān, but this was as a result of lengthy researches and investigations. After the death of Muḥammad, the original religious ideas and usages which were current in the oldest community of Islam could not remain permanently unaltered. A new period of development in the field of scholarship began to develop systematically the doctrine of duties and ideas in accordance with the new conditions created after the great Islamic conquest, which covered a vast area. The Qur'ān alone did not suffice to provide laws for so great an Empire, and it became necessary, at a very early period, to cast light on its precepts by means of explanations furnished by Muḥammad himself. Therefore students of traditions and jurisprudence began to travel throughout the Islamic world in search of traditions and in pursuit of learning them from the lips of the best authorities who were the Companions and the Successors, and gradually, as a result of these researches, traditions were written down by the Ḥijāzians and Iraqis among others, and also by the Khurasanians.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; S E I, "Ḥadīth".

At first, works devoted to tradition are works on jurisprudence, such as the Muwatta' of Mālik ibn-Anas (d.795) of Medina and the Musnad of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal (d.855) of Baghdad. However, Nishapur, at the same period, produced scholars who participated in committing traditions to writing for legal uses: among such scholars were Ibn-Ṭahmān ( I. B. 1 ) the author of as-Sunan fī 'l-fiqh, and 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ), the author of a book of the same title: other works were the Musnads of al-Muṭṭawwi'ī ( I. A. 4 ) and that of Iṣḥāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). Of these works of the Nishapurians, all are lost except the Musnad of Iṣḥāq ibn-Rāhūya in which traditions are arranged in order of the most recent witness, without any regard to the subject matter. He was following the method of arrangement used in the Musnad of his contemporary, Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal.<sup>1</sup>

The 9th century of our era was the time when the important muṣṣannaf (Classified) works were compiled according to Chapters, 'alā al-abwāb, which were in the course of time generally recognized by the Sunnite Muslim world as authoritative. They are the collections of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), Abū-Dāwūd (d.888), at-Tirmidhī (d.892) an-Nasā'ī (d. 915) and Ibn-Māja (d.886). These works are usually called briefly the six books, al-Kutub as-sitta, or the six Ṣaḥīḥs. The collections of al-Bukhārī

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 370; Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 319-321; H Kh. II, 1678; Aḥmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām, II, 106-107; Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; A L , 217; Gibb, Arabic Literature, 72.

and Muslim are considered to be the most authoritative and were held in particularly high esteem. They are known as the two Ṣaḥīḥs.<sup>1</sup>

We must note that the traditionist al-Bukhārī was born in Bukhārā, of a Persian family. After an absence of sixteen years, five of which he spent in Nishapur, where he lectured on traditions, he returned to Bukhārā and there wrote his Ṣaḥīḥ. He died in 870. His Ṣaḥīḥ consists of traditions which, in his view, are the only ones universally admitted to be authentic. The book includes traditions of all sorts, biographical, ethical and medical, as well as purely legal. Ibn-Khaldūn noted that al-Bukhārī "widened the area of traditions and wrote the Sunnite traditions arranged according to subject. He combined all the different systems of the (legal schools) Ḥijāzians, Syrians and Iraqis, accepting the material upon which they all agreed, but excluding the material concerning which there were differences of opinion." Therefore al-Bukhārī could be considered the first to compile a handbook serving in particular the Sunnite jurists, who belonged to different schools of jurisprudence, as a source for their legal opinions.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim, on the other hand, was a native of Nishapur of Arabian descent. He was a pupil of al-Bukhārī and he also made an extensive journey during which he collected more

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 373; Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; Aḥmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām, II, 110; A L, 219.

2. Ibn-Khaldūn, op.cit., 370; Gibb, Arabic Literature, 72; A L, 218.

than 300,000 traditions, on which his selection is based. The friendship between Muslim and al-Bukhārī survived even the persecutions which drove the latter scholar from Nishapur. Muslim defended his friend's cause against Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), who affirmed the doctrine that not only the Qur'ān itself is eternal, as being the word of God, but that the same rule applied to the 'utterance', lafz of the words of which it is composed. Muslim classified his traditions in his Ṣaḥīḥ according to juridicial categories and organized his chapters under different heads of jurisprudence. He presented a complete collection of all the sound traditions.<sup>1</sup>

Traditions were divided into the following categories;

1. 'sound' Ṣaḥīḥ; this name is given to the utterly faultless tradition in whose 'chain of authority', isnād, there is no 'weakness' 'illa, 2. 'good', hasan; such a tradition is not absolutely faultless, because its chain of authority is not quite complete, 3. 'weak', ḍa'īf, or 'infirm', saqīm; this is applied to a tradition against which serious doubts can be raised by reason of its contents or because its transmitter is considered unreliable. Furthermore, traditions were divided into seven grades: 1. Those given by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. 2. Those given by al-Bukhārī alone. 3. Those given by Muslim alone. 4. Those not given by either, which, however, fulfil their 'conditions', shurūṭ. 5. Those traditions which

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 370; I Kh., II, 91; Shadh, II, 138; Subk., II, 11-13; I H., IX, 54; Gibb, Arabic Literature, 73; A L , 218-219.

fulfil the conditions of al-Bukhārī. 6. Those which fulfil the conditions of Muslim. 7. Those traditions which are sound in the opinion of other authorities.<sup>1</sup>

However, traditions which are mentioned by Muslim and al-Bukhārī are given on the authority of the most reliable traditionists. Those scholars whose lives are connected with Nishapur and on whose authority traditions are mentioned in the Ṣaḥīḥs of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim are: Abū-Zakariyyā an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ), Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī (I.A.9), Ibn-Rāfi‘ (I.A.15), Abū-‘Alī al-Māsarjīsī (I.A.11), Abū-‘l-Ḥasan al-Labaqī (I. A. 19 ), Abū-Ja‘far as-Sarakhsī ( I. A. 20 ), Abū-‘l-Azhar an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 29 ), Ḥamdān ( I. A. 30 ) ar-Ribāṭī ( I. A. 31 ) Ibn-Ṭahmān ( I. B. 1 ) Ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ), Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ) and Ibn-Abī-‘Amr an-Naysābūrī ( I. G. 2 ). Those authorities whose traditions are quoted in al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ and not in Muslim's are: Abū-‘Amr as-Sulamī ( I. A. 3 ) Abū-Ja‘far ar-Rāzī ( I. A. 12 ), Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ) and Abū-Muḥammad al-‘Abdī (I.A.26). And lastly, there are those whose traditions are quoted in Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ and not related in al-Bukhārī's; they are Abū-Mūsā al-Anṣārī (I.A.13), and Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān at-Ṭusī (I.A.25) and Abū-Muḥammad al-Karrī (I. A. 10).

The science of studying traditions was developed by Muslim scholars a century after the composition of the six

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1. Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; Ibid., "Tradition:

Investigation and Classification", EW, XLI (1951), 107-108.

Saḥīḥs. The first outstanding scholar to have studied traditions as a science, 'ilm, was Abū-Muḥammad ar-Rāmahurmuzī (d. 971), whose writings on the subject are contained in a lengthy work of 7 volumes called al-Muḥaddith al-fāṣil bayna 'l-rāwī wa'l-wā'i. A Nishapurian scholar al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) composed a more systematic work entitled Ma'rifat anwā' 'ulūm al-ḥadīth which further divided traditions into 52 'categories', naw', a method which was followed by later scholars such as Abū-'Amr ibn-Ṣāliḥ (d. 1245) and Muḥyī-ad-Dīn an-Nawawī (d. 1277).

Ibn-Khaldūn credits al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī as being the foremost who studied the science of tradition and says that al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī was "the one who polished the science of traditions and displayed its charms."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn , Muqaddima, 370; Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; see below, 275-278.

THE TRADITIONISTS (700 - 900)

A.1 Abū-‘Alī an-Naysābūrī<sup>1</sup>

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Walīd and his laqab was Kumayl. He was an Arab belonging to the tribe of Quraysh and a native of Nishapur. He spent quite a considerable part of his life fighting as a warrior with the Caliphate army against the Turkish tribes in east Persia. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca several times, and he is said to have studied under several authorities. In Iraq he read the Qur’ān under al-Kisā’ī, tutor to Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd’s sons, and ‘Īsā ibn-Ṭahmān. He also heard traditions from Sufyān ath-Thawrī, Sufyān ibn-‘Uyayna, Jarīr ibn-Ḥāzim, Mālīk ibn-Anas and other authorities from Iraq and Ḥijāz. He became noted in Nishapur as the master of the city in the science of tradition and it is reported that many Nishapurians learned traditions from him: among these were Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1), Ibn-Rāfi‘ (I. A. 15) and Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya an-Naysābūrī (I. A. 5). He died in Nishapur either in the year 817 or one year later.<sup>2</sup>

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1. His kunya was either Abū-‘Alī or Abū-‘Abd-Allāh.

2. I Ḥ , II, 374-5; Shadh., II, 6; Khaṭ., VIII, 143;  
cf. T N , 15.



## A.2 Abū-'l-'Abbās an-Naysābūrī

His name was 'Umar ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Razīn ibn-Muhammad ibn-Burd. An Arab scholar belonging to the tribe of Sulaym, he was born in Nishapur and so received the nisba an-Naysābūrī. He studied traditions under the Nishapurians Ibrāhīm ibn-Ṭahmān (I.B.1) and Dukayr ibn-Na'rūf (I.G.1). He became renowned as a reliable traditionist and many authorities learned traditions from him, such as Abū-'l-Azhar an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 29 ), Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf as-Sulamī ( I. A. 30 ), Ishāq ibn-'Abd-Allāh as-Sulaymānī, al-Ḥusayn ibn-Manṣūr as-Sulamī. He died in Nishapur in 818.<sup>1</sup>

A.3 Abū-'Amr as-Sulamī<sup>2</sup>

His name was Ḥafṣ ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Rāshid. He was a native of Nishapur and the qaḍī of the city. During his twenty years as qaḍī, he never permitted the use of 'personal judgment' ra'y. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ibrāhīm Ibn-Ṭahmān ( I. B. 1 ) and from other masters of Iraq, such as Isrā'īl ibn-Yūnus, Ibn-Abī-Dhī'b, Sufyān ath-Thawrī and others. He became noted as a master of traditions and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) related in his Ṣaḥīḥ sound traditions delivered by as-Sulamī. He died in 824.<sup>3</sup>

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1. I H , VII, 468-469

2. His kunya was either Abū-'Amr or Abū-Sahl.

3. I H , II, 403-4; Shadh., II, 22.

## A.4 Al-Muṭṭawwi'ī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Ishāq. He received the laqab Mufīd-Naysābūr, and was known as al-Muṭṭawwi'ī because of his love of jihād. During his travels through Khurasan and Iraq, he compiled material for his work entitled the Musnad and heard traditions from 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ), Jarīr ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥamīd and Abū-Bakr al-'Ayyāsh. It is also reported that Abū-Zur'a and Abū-Ḥātim of Rayy delivered traditions on his authority. He died in 825 in the city of Dīnawar.<sup>1</sup>

## A.5 Abū-Zakariyyā an-Naysābūrī

His name was Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Bukayr ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Ḥammād. He was an Arab scholar belonging to the tribe of Tamīm. He was born in Nishapur in 759. He learned traditions, during his travels in Iraq and Ḥijāz, from Mālik ibn-Anas, Sulaymān ibn-Bilāl, the Ḥammādayn, Ḥamīd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥman ar-Rawwāsī and from other masters of traditions. He became noted as one of the most authoritative traditionists in Khurasan. It is reported that the collectors of traditions, al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and at-Tirmidhī, related traditions on his authority. It is also reported that the Nishapurians,

1. Tadh., II, 3; for the derivation of the nisba "al-Muṭṭawwi'ī" see Ans., f.534a; Lub., III, 151.

Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), Abū-'l-Azhar Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ( I. A. 29 ), Ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ), Aḥmad ibn-Salama an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 34 ) and Yaḥya ibn-Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī ( I. B. 11 ) delivered traditions on his authority. He died in Nishapur in 838. It was estimated that about one hundred thousand citizens of Nishapur were present at his funeral.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.6 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Kūfī

His name was 'Alī ibn-'Aththām ibn-'Alī. He was a native of Kūfa. He learnt tradition from his father 'Aththām, as well as from Ibn-'Uyayna, 'Abd-allāh ibn-al-Mubārak (I. F. 1) and Ḥafṣ ibn-Ghiyāth. Then he travelled eastward, and in 820 settled in Nishapur. He became noted in this city for his wide knowledge of jurisprudence, literature and traditions and gave lectures to many students of the city, including Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ). In 839 he left Nishapur and went to Ṭarsūs where he stayed until his death in 842.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I H, XI, 296-299.

2. Ibid., VII, 363-364; Shadh., II, 65.

### A.7 Abū-'Alī an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Mu'āwīya. He was a native of Nishapur. He spent some time in Baghdad before he went to Mecca, where he died in 843. During his stay in the latter two cities he heard traditions from several masters including Sulaymān ibn-Bilāl, Nahshal ibn-Sa'īd, Abū-'l-Aḥwas, Abū-'Awāna, al-Layth and Sharīk al-Qāḍī. It is reported that traditions were delivered on his authority by Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq aṣ-Ṣaghānī, Ḥarb al-Kirmānī, Muḥammad al-Ḥaḍramī and al-'Ukbarī. According to an-Nasā'ī, Ibn-Ma'in and Abū-Dāwūd, Abū-'Alī-an-Naysābūrī was not a reliable traditionist because it was believed that he made mistakes in giving isnāds, and Dāraqutnī alleges that Abū-'Alī 'invents traditions', yaḍa' al-ṣḥādīth.<sup>1</sup>

### A.8 Abū-Muḥammad al-Quhustānī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Jarrāḥ ibn-Sa'd. He was an Arab belonging to the tribe of Tamīm and was a native of Quhustān, which was a small town situated between Herat and Nishapur. He spent most of his life in the city of Nishapur. He obtained his knowledge of traditions from his visits to Iraq and Ḥijāz where he heard traditions from Ḥammād ibn-Zayd, Mālik ibn-Anas, Ḥafṣ ibn-Ghiyāth and from other masters. He became renowned in Nishapur as a

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1. I H , IX, 464-65; Khaṭ, III, 270-74.

distinguished traditionist and al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3) attributes to him the spread of the science of tradition in Nishapur. Many Nishapurians are reported to have learned traditions from him, amongst them 'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ), al-Ḥusayn al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ). He died in his native place, Quhustān in 846.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.9 Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī

His name was Ḥamid ibn-'Umar ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-'Umar ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh. He was a native of Baṣra, but was later appointed qāḍī of Kirmān. Then he left Kirmān and went to Nishapur where he stayed until his death, which occurred in 846. He learned traditions in Iraq from Bakkar ibn-Abī-Bakra, Abū-'Awāna, 'Abd-al-Wahīd ibn-Ziyād. Traditions were related on his authority in the works of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ). He is regarded by Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) and Aḥmad ibn-Biṣṭām as a reliable traditionist.<sup>2</sup>

#### A.10 Abū-Muḥammad al-Karri

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muṭī'. He was a native of Nishapur, but he went to Baghdad where he remained for the rest

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1. I H , V, 169-70; cf. T N , 25; cf. "al-Quhustānī" Ans. , f.466a; Lub. , III, 13.

2. I H , II, 169.

of his days and where he died in 851. He was noted as a reliable traditionist, and it is reported that he delivered traditions on the authority of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ), Hushaym, Abū-Nu'aym, Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ), Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal and others. It is also reported that traditions were related on his authority in the works of an-Nasā'ī, Abū-Dāwūd and Muslim ( I. A. 28 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### A.11 Abū-'Alī al-Māsarjisī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-'Īsā ibn-Māsarjis. He was born in Nishapur in the quarter of 'Īsā, and came from a well-known Christian family of the city. He was converted to Islam by 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ). He came to Baghdad where he learned traditions from Abū-Bakr ibn-al-'Ayyāsh, 'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-Ḥarb, Jarīr ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥamīd, Ibn-'Uyayna and Abū-Mu'āwiya. It is reported that he taught traditions in Baghdad, concerning the subject of 'faith', īmān, but the scholars of Baghdad disapproved of his lectures and left his class. In Khurasan, al-Māsarjisī was held in high esteem and considered as reliable traditionist so that traditions were delivered on his authority and recorded by eminent masters of both Iraq and Khurasan. Among those masters were Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim (I.A.28), Abū-Dāwūd and an-Nasā'ī. It is also reported that

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1. I H , VI, 37; Khaṭ., X, 177.

his classes in Nishapur were attended by the majority of the pupils of the city and it is said that in his class twelve thousand ink pots were counted. He died on his return from Mecca in 853-4.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.12 Abū-Ja'far ar-Rāzī

His name was Mukhallad ibn-Mālik ibn-Jābir. He was a native of Rayy, but he came to live in Nishapur where he died in 855. He delivered traditions on the authority of Ibn-'Uyayna, al-Walīd ibn-Muslim, Yahya ibn-Sa'īd and Abū-'Awāna. It is reported that traditions were delivered on his authority by al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), 'Abd-Allāh ad-Dārimī, Ahmad ibn-an-Naḍr ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb an-Naysābūrī ( II. I. 3 ), al-Ḥasan ibn-Sufyān and some others.<sup>2</sup>

#### A.13 Abū-Mūsā al-Anṣārī

His name was Ishāq ibn-Mūsā ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Mūsā ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yazīd. His ancestor Yazīd was one of the Anṣārīs of Medina, but Abū-Mūsā Ishāq was born in Kūfa. He came to Baghdad where he taught traditions and became noted

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1. I Kh., I, 581; I H., II, 313-314; Shadh., II, 4; Khaṭ., VII, 352; Lub., III, 82-83; Ans., ff.501a-502b; cf. Ibn-al-Khaṭīb ad-Dahsha, Tuḥfat dhawī'l-'Arab, 102.

2. I H., X, 75-76.

as a reliable traditionist. During the lifetime of Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya ( I. A. 5 ) he was appointed qāḍī of Nishapur. He stayed in Nishapur, during his retirement from office, in 855. He died in Hims in 858.

Abū-Mūsā is considered by many authorities as a reliable traditionist. He learned traditions from Sufyān ibn-ʿUyayna, al-Walīd ibn-Muslim and Jarīr ibn-ʿAbd-al-Ḥamīd, and it is reported that Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), at-Tirmidhī, Ibn-Māja and an-Nasāʾī related traditions on his authority.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.14 Abū-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥīm al-Jūzjānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Jarrāḥ. He was a native of Jūzjān, which was a <sup>Province</sup> ~~town~~ near Herat, but he spent most of his life in Nishapur. His father was a Ḥanafite jurist. He himself studied traditions with great devotion and travelled widely in search of religious knowledge. He learned traditions from Rawḥ ibn-ʿUbāda, Saʿīd ibn-ʿĀmir, Wahb ibn-Jarīr, Abū-ʿĀṣim and others. It is also reported that traditions were related on his authority by the collector of traditions Ibn-Māja and he is considered by Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) as a reliable traditionist. He died in 859.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Shadh., II, 105; Tadh., II, 89-90; I H, I, 251.

2. Ibid., IX, 20-21.



## A.15 Ibn-Rāfi'

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Rāfi' Ibn-Abī-Zayd Sābūr. His kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Yaman but he lived much of his life in Nishapur. He travelled so widely throughout the Islamic empire that it is said that he entered all the mosques in the Muslim world and studied under every shaykh he met in each mosque. It is recorded that he learned traditions from Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna, Abū-Mu'āwiya, Abū-Aḥmad az-Zubayrī, Abū-Dāwūd al-Muqri', Abū-Dāwūd at-Ṭayālisī and Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī al-Ju'fī. He became noted as the most reliable master of Khurasan in the science of tradition. It is said that traditions were delivered on his authority by the Nishapurians Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). It is also said that traditions were related on his authority in the works of the famous collectors of traditions al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) an-Nasā'ī, at-Tirmidhī and Abū-Dāwūd. He died in 859.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I H., IX, 160.

## A.16 Ibn-al-‘Ajamī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Mas‘ūd ibn-Yūsuf. He received the kunya Abū-Ja‘far. He was a Persian and a native of Nishapur but he left there and went to live in Ṭarsūs where he died in 861. It is reported that the scholars of Maghrīb borrowed from him his queries on the rijāl and ‘ilal al-hadīth. Ibn-al-‘Ajamī learned traditions from Zayd ibn-al-Ḥabāb, Mūsā ibn-Dawūd aḍ-Ḍabbī and others. It is also reported that traditions were delivered on his authority by Abū-Dāwūd, al-Haytham ibn-Khalaf, Ja‘far al-Faryābī, as-Sarrāj (II. I.12) and others.<sup>1</sup>

## A.17 Abū-‘l-Faḍl an-Numayrī

His name was ‘Iṣma ibn-al-Faḍl. He was a native of Nishapur. For a time he lived in Baghdad and was regarded as a reliable traditionist. He learned traditions from Zayd ibn-Ḥabāb, Yahya ibn-Ādam and some others. It is said that

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1. I H, IX, 438; Khaṭ., III, 301.

traditions were related on his authority by an-Nasā'ī, Ibn-Māja, Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ), al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ) and some other masters. He died in 864.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.18 Abū-'Uthmān ad-Baghdādī

His name was Sa'īd ibn-Marwān ibn-'Alī. He was a native of Baghdad, but he spent most of his life in Nishapur and died there in 866. He learned traditions from Abū-Nu'aym, Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz, Abū-Ḥudhayfa, Yahya ibn-Ma'in and others. It is said that al-Bukhārī related in his Ṣaḥīḥ one tradition on the authority of al-Baghdādī.<sup>2</sup>

#### A.19 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Labaqī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Salama ibn-'Uqba. He lived in Nishapur and died there in 866. He heard traditions during his travels from Zayd ibn-Ḥabāb, Marwān ibn-Ma'āwiya, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Muḥaribī and Mu'āwiya ibn-Ḥishām. It is said that traditions were delivered on his authority by Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sufyān, Ibn-Māja, al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( II. A. 28 ), Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Abī-Ṭālib and al-Ḥasan ibn-Sufyān.<sup>3</sup>

1, I H, VII, 197; Khaṭ., VII, 288.

2, I H, IV, 80; Khaṭ., IX, 91-2.

3, I H, VII, 327-8; Ans., f.494a; Lub., III, 66.

## A.20 Abū-Ja'far as-Sarakhsī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Sa'īd ibn-Ṣakhr. He was born in Sarakhs but he spent most of his life in Nishapur where he died in 867. He made intermittent journeys in the course of which he heard traditions from an-Nāḍr ibn-Shumayl, Abū-'Āmir al-'Aqadī and 'Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Marwazī. It is said that traditions were related on his authority by Muslim (I.A.28), al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Ibn-Māja, at-Tirmidhī and Abū-Dāwūd.<sup>1</sup>

## A.21 Abū-'l-Ḥasan an-Nasā'ī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Sa'īd ibn-Jarīr ibn-Dhakwān. A native of Nasā, he came to live in Nishapur. He made several journeys in Khurasan, Hijāz, Syria and Iraq, during which he heard traditions from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, 'Uthmān ibn-'Umar ibn-Fāris, 'Abd-Allāh as-Sahmī, Ya'qūb ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Sa'd, Yahya ibn-Ḥammād and some others. Traditions were related on his authority by an-Nasā'ī, Mūsā ibn-Hārūn and Ibn-Māja in his Sunan section on the Tafsīr. He died in 869.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., II, 116; Shadh., II, 127; I H, I, 30.

2. I. A., VII, 326.

## A.22 Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Khālīd ibn-Fāris ibn-Dhuwayb. He received the kunya Abū-‘Abd-Allāh and was known by his nisba adh-Dhuhlī, which was the name of an Arabian tribe. Adh-Dhuhlī was a native of Nishapur. He came to Baghdad where he met Ibn-Ḥanbal and asked him some legal questions. He also learnt traditions in Baghdad from ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-al-Mahdī, Bishr az-Zahrānī and others. He returned to Nishapur where he was held in high esteem by the people of that city, who acknowledged him as the imām of the people of tradition in Khurasan. One of the most important episodes in his life occurred when al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) came to Nishapur and the students left adh-Dhuhlī's lectures to come to study under al-Bukhārī. Disputations arose between him and al-Bukhārī and then adh-Dhuhlī alleged that al-Bukhārī upheld Mu‘tazalite doctrines. Eventually al-Bukhārī was forced to leave Nishapur and most of his students returned to study under adh-Dhuhlī. Adh-Dhuhlī died in Nishapur in 869.

Adh-Dhuhlī was one of the most reliable traditionists of Nishapur. It is said that he collected traditions which were related to az-Zuhri. It is also said that traditions were related on his authority in the collections of al-Bukhārī Abū-Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, Ibn-Māja and an-Nasā’ī.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Shadh., II, 138; I Kh., II, 91; Khaṭ., III, 415-420; Muntazam., V<sup>2</sup>, 15-16; I H, IX, 511-516; Ibn-Abī-Ya‘lā, Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila., I, 328; cf. The nisba "adh-Dhuhlī", Lub., I, 477; Ans., f.241a.

## A.23 Al-Bukhārī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mughīra ibn-Bardizba, with the kunya Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He came of a Persian family. He received the nisba al-Ju'fī because his great grandfather al-Mughīra was a mawlā of Yamān al-Ju'fī, governor of Bukhāra. He was born in Bukhārā in 810 and began at the age of eleven to study traditions. Some of the previous collections of traditions which he is known to have studied were those of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ). When he was sixteen, he went on the pilgrimage to Mecca with his mother and sister but on their return journey he was left behind in Ḥijāz, where he attended the lectures of the most famous traditionists of Mecca and Medina. In 828, he was at Medina and while he was there, he wrote his great historical work on the trustworthy traditionists, entitled at-Ta'rikh al-ma'rūf. For the next sixteen years, al-Bukhārī travelled widely throughout the Islamic world, visiting the main cities from Khurasan to Egypt, and he later claimed that during these travels he heard over 600,000 traditions from a 1000 shaykhs. It is said that he heard traditions in Balkh from Makkī ibn-Ibrāhīm, Yaḥya ibn-Bishr az-Zāhid, in Marw from 'Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Shaqīq ibn-'Abdān, in Nishapur from Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya ( I. A. 5 ), Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and Bishr ibn-al-Ḥakam, in Rayy from Ibrāhīm ibn-Mūsā al-Ḥāfiẓ, in Baghdad from Shuray' ibn-an-Nu'mān, in Baṣra from Abū-'Āṣim an-Nabbāl, in Kūfa from

Abū-Nu‘aym and Ṭalq ibn-Ghannām, in Mecca from al-Ḥamīdī, in Medina from ‘Abd-al-‘Azīz al-Uwaysī and Muṭṭarīf ibn-‘Abd-Allāh, and from many others in Egypt, Damascus, ‘Asqalān and Ḥimṣ. During these travels he is known to have definitely visited Nishapur twice and it was on his second visit to Nishapur that he was acclaimed at the gates of the city by over 1000 of its inhabitants. He was held in even higher esteem by the scholars of that city who continued to hold him in high regard in spite of his quarrel with the chief of the traditionists in the city, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī (I.A.22), over a certain pronunciation of the words of the Qur’ānic text. Eventually the hostility of Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī, who accused al-Bukhārī of spreading heretical doctrines, forced him to abandon his lecturing and even to leave Nishapur. Among the scholars who remained faithful to al-Bukhārī at this time and who continued to attend his classes, despite orders to the contrary issued by the Ḥanafite leader, were Muslim ( I A. 28 ) and al-Qabbānī ( II. I, 1 ).

After being forced to leave Nishapur, al-Bukhārī returned to his native city of Bukhārā, where he encountered similar hostility from the Ḥanafites. It is reported that the governor of Bukhārā, Khālīd adh-Dhuhlī, asked him to tutor his children and when al-Bukhārī refused to do so, he was expelled from the city. Al-Bukhārī then went to live in



Kharatank, a village about two farsakhs from Samarqand. He died there in 870.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bukhārī's most famous work al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ, was the result of the experience accumulated during his sixteen years of travel, and his selections from the vast number of traditions which he had gathered. In spite of the hostility of certain scholars during the latter period of his life, which we have already recounted, this book was widely read and even during his lifetime it had acquired the reputation of being a sacred book only slightly inferior to the Qur'ān itself. The work itself is divided into 97 books with 3450 'chapters', bābs, and some 7397 traditions with full 'chains of authorities', isnāds. Ibn-Khaldūn remarks that al-Bukhārī's work enlarged the area of traditions partly because of their quantity and mainly because they were arranged and classified according to subject matter. If a particular tradition had some bearing upon the subject of a chapter it was included in that chapter and, since a particular tradition may cover different topics, it was quite usual to find that tradition repeated in several different chapters. If we omit the

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1. Subk., II, 2-16; I Kh., I, 376-77; I H., IX, 47-55; Miftah., II, 4-5; Tadh., II, 122; Khat., II, 4-33; Shadh., II, 144; Lub., II, 101; Ans., f.68a: Ibn-Abī Ya'la, Tabaqāt al-Ḥanabila, I, 271-279; al-Bukhārī's second visit to Nishapur probably lasted five years, cf. T N, 29-30.



repetitions, there are only about 2762 traditions, but even this number gives some indication of the immense scope of the work.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.24 Abū-‘Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Aqīl ibn-Khuwaylid ibn-Mu‘āwiya ibn-Sa‘īd ibn-Asad ibn-Yazīd. He was a native of Nishapur, of Arabian descent and of the Khuḏā‘a tribe. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ḥafṣ as-Sulamī ( I. A. 3 ) Ḥafṣ al-Balkhī ( I. B. 2 ) and from other scholars in Khurasan and Iraq. He became renowned as a reliable traditionist and it is said that he taught ten traditions in Iraq. Traditions were related on his authority in the Sunan of Ibn-Māja, Abū-Dāwūd, an-Nasā’ī and in the work of Ibn-Ḥibbān ( I. K. 9 ) al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and al-Ḥākim Abū-Aḥmad ( II. I. 43 ). He died in Nishapur in 870.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, al-Muqaddima, 370-371; Subk., II, 4; cf. A L , 217-18; Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Bukhārī", Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Bukhārī"; S E I , "Al-Bukhārī"; G A L , I, 163; G A L S , I, 260.

2. I H , IX, 347.

A.25 Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān aṭ-Ṭūsī<sup>1</sup>

His name was ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Hāshim ibn-Ḥayyān. He was an Arab and a descendant of the Arabian tribe the ‘Ubayd. He was born in Rādhakān, a district in Ṭūs, but he lived most of his life in Nishapur and Baghdad. He studied tradition in Nishapur under Abū-‘Amr Ḥafṣ as-Sulumī ( I. A. 3 ). In 816 he went to Baghdad where he became a pupil of Wakī‘ ibn-al-Jarrāḥ and it is said that he read most of the works of his teacher. He also deepened his knowledge by learning traditions from Sufyān ibn-‘Uyayna, Yaḥya al-Qaṭṭān, Ibn-al-Mahdī and others. He was held in Baghdad as well as Nishapur as one of the most reliable traditionists of his time and writers from Nishapur such as Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ) Aḥmad ibn-Salama ( I. A. 34 ) and Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) related traditions in their work on the authority of aṭ-Ṭūsī. He died in Baghdad in 872.<sup>2</sup>

## A.26 Abū-Muḥammad al-‘Abdī

His name was ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Bishr ibn-al-Ḥakam. He was a native of Nishapur, but of Arabian origin. During his travels through Iraq and Ḥijāz, he heard traditions from

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1. His kunya was either Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān or Abū-Muḥammad.  
 2. Khaṭ., X, 193-194; I Ḥ., VI, 60.

Sufyān ibn-‘Uyayna, Malik ibn-Su‘ayr, Yahya ibn-Sa‘īd al-Qaṭṭān, an-Naḍr ibn-Shumayl, Wakī‘ ibn-al-Jarrāh and from others. He became noted as a reliable traditionist and his distinguished knowledge of traditions is shown by the fact that the governor in Nishapur ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir acknowledged him with three others chosen from several hundred shaykhs as masters of Nishapur in the subject of tradition. It is reported that traditions were related on his authority in the works of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Abū-Dāwūd, al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ), Aḥmad ibn-Salama ( I. A. 34 ), Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Abū-‘Awāna ( II. I. 16 ), al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( II. I. 43 ) and Abū-‘Amr al-Mustamlī ( I. A. 33 ). He died in 873.<sup>1</sup>

#### A. 27 Qaṭan al-Qushayrī

His name was Qaṭan ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-‘Īsā ibn-Muslim ibn-Khalīd ibn-Qaṭan ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn Ghaṭfān ibn-Isma‘īl ibn-Salama ibn-Qushayr, with the kunya Abū-Sa‘īd. He was an Arab belonging to the tribe of Qushayr. He was born in Nishapur in 796. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ḥafṣ ibn-‘Abd-Allāh as-Sulamī ( I. A. 3 ) and al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Walīd al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ). During his travels to Iraq and Ḥijāz he learned traditions from several masters, including Mu‘allā ibn-Asad, Qabīṣa ibn-‘Uqba, ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Yazīd al-Muqrī’

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1. Khaṭ., X, 271-272; I H., VI, 144-145; cf. T N, 25.

and Ḥammād ibn-Qirrāṭ. He became a distinguished traditionist but Ibn-Ḥibbān (II.K.9) alleges that Qaṭan occasionally made some mistakes in delivering traditions. It is reported that an-Nasā'ī related in his Sunan two traditions on the authority of Qaṭan. Qaṭan died in 874.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.28 Muslim

His name was Muslim ibn-al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Muslim, with the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥusayn. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to the Arabian tribe of Qushayr. He was born in Nishapur in 817 or 821. At the age of sixteen he is reputed to have begun his study of traditions in his birth-place under Ishāq ibn-Rābūya ( I. C. 1 ) and Yahya ibn-Yahya an-Naysāburī ( I. A. 5 ). He travelled extensively in Ḥijāz, Iraq, Syria and Egypt, during which time he collected material for his work the Ṣaḥīḥ. He visited Baghdad several times and during his earlier visits he learned traditions there from Yahya ibn-Ṣā'id and Muḥammad ibn-Mukhallad. His last visit to Baghdad was in 872/3. When al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) resided in Nishapur Muslim made his acquaintance and continued to visit him and attend his lectures even after al-Bukhārī's quarrel with the chief of the traditionists in Nishapur Muḥammad

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1. I H , VIII, 380-381.

adh-Dhuhli ( I. A. 22 ). Muslim died in Nishapur in 876 at the age of fifty.<sup>1</sup>

Muslim wrote a large number of books on traditions, jurisprudence, biography and genealogy but none of these books have survived, with the exception of al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ,<sup>2</sup> His reputation today rests upon the Ṣaḥīḥ, which ranks with al-Bukhārī's work of the same name. Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ took him about fifteen years to compile and is said to have been selected from over 30,000 traditions which he had collected during his travels. He included in his collection only those traditions upon which there was general agreement.<sup>3</sup>

Muslim's work consists of 53 books which dealt with the common subjects of traditions: the five pillars, marriage, slavery, barter, hereditary law, sacrifice, manners and customs, the Prophet and the Companions, predestination and other theological matters. However, Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ differs from that of al-Bukhārī and from other collections of traditions in two important respects: (a) Muslim classifies the traditions

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1. I Kh., II, 91-92; I H , X, 126-128; Khaṭ., XII, 100-104; Hiftāḥ., II, 8; Khaṭ., XIII, 10-4; Muntaẓam., V<sup>2</sup>, 32; Tadh., II, 150-152; Lub., II, 264; Ans., f.453b; Ibn-Abī-Ya'la, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila., I, 337-339;

T N , 15.

2. See lists of his works in: I H , XI, 127; H Kh., I, 175, 202; II, 555, 1099, 1160, 1387, 1464, 1469; Tadh., II, 151-152; G A I , I, 166-168; G A L S , I, 265-266.

3. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 171; I Kh., II, 91; Ibn-Abī-Ya'la, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila., I, 338.

according to judicial categories and organised his chapters under different kinds of jurisprudence, whereas in al-Bukhārī's work the traditions were classified according to tarjamas.

In this way Muslim omitted the repetitions which were a noticeable feature in al-Bukhārī's work: (b) Muslim gave particular attention to the isnāds which serve as an introduction to either the same or to a slightly different version of the matn.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.29 Abū-'l-Azhar an-Naysābūrī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ibn-Manī' ibn-Sulayṭ ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur, an Arab and a descendant of the tribe of 'Ubayd. It seems that he had made many journeys through Iraq and Ḥijāz and learned traditions from Sufyan ibn-'Uyayna, Mālīk ibn-Sa'īd, Ibrāhīm ibn-Sa'd, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Numayr, Rawḥ ibn-'Ubāda and from others. In Baghdad he taught traditions, and he related details of the life of Yaḥya ibn-Manī' to the people of that city. Abū-'l-Azhar is regarded as a reliable traditionist and it is reported that traditions were related on his authority in the works of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), Abū-'Awāna al-Isfara'īnī ( II. I. 16 ) Abū-Zur'a ar-Rāzī and the famous

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 371; S E I, "Muslim B. Al-Ḥadjdjādj"; Wensinck, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Muslim B. Al-Ḥadjdjādj"; A L, 218-219.

historian Muḥammad ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī (838-923). Abū-'l-Azhar died in Nishapur in 874 or in 877.<sup>1</sup>

### A.30 Ḥamdān

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Khālīd al-Muḥallabī al-Azdī as-Sulamī, with the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur, of Arabian descent, belonging to the tribe of Sulaym. He heard traditions in Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz from several authorities such as Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna, Abū-'n-Naḍr, Abū-'Ubayd and Ibn-al-Jarrāḥ. It is reported that he wrote down 30,000 traditions from Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā and studied traditions under the Nishapurian Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya ( I. A. 5 ). He became noted as a reliable traditionist and writers of tradition, such as al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), an-Nasā'ī and Abū-Dāwūd, related traditions in their works on the authority of Ḥamdān. He died in Nishapur in 877.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I H., I, 11; Khaṭ., VII, 39; Tadh., II, 114-115; Shadh., II, 146.

2. I H., I, 91-92; Shadh., II, 147.

## A.31 Ar-Ribāṭī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Sa'īd ibn-Ibrāhīm, with the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Marw but spent most of his life in Nishapur. He received the nisba ar-Ribāṭī because he built several ribāṭs in Nishapur and was in charge of its awqāf. He visited Iraq and Hījāz and learned traditions from Wakī' ibn-al-Jarrāh, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Mūsā, Wahb ibn-Jarīr and Sa'īd ibn-'Āmir. It is reported that he visited Baghdad and learned traditions from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal and other scholars of that city. He is regarded by an-Nasā'ī as a reliable traditionist and traditions were related on his authority in the works of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), Abū-Dāwūd, an-Nasā'ī, Ibn-Khuzayma (II. K. 4 ) as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ). He died in Qūmis in 880.<sup>1</sup>

## A.32 Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭālaqānī

His name was Sa'īd ibn-Ya'qūb. He was a native of Ṭālaqān which was a town situated between Marw-ar-Rūdh and Balkh.<sup>2</sup> He travelled and heard traditions from many masters of Khurasan, Iraq and Hījāz. Among those masters

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1. Khat., IV, 165-166; I H, I, 30; Shadh., II, 102; Ibn-Abī-Ya'la, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 45; Lub., I, 457; Ans., f.247b; Tadh., II, 108.
  2. There is another Ṭālaqān which is near Qazwīn, cf. Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭālaqānī (IV.AA.35); cf. Lub., II, 76-77; Ans., f.363h.



were Ḥammād ibn-Yazīd, Khālīd ibn-ʿAlī, ʿAbd-Allāh ibn al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ), Yazīd ibn-Zurayʿ, ʿUthmān ibn-Yamān, Hashīm, ʿAbd-as-Sallām ibn-Ḥarb and Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal. He came to Nishapur and taught traditions there to Muḥammad ad-Dhuhlī (I. A.22) and the latter's contemporaries. Some say that Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) heard traditions from him but ibn-Ḥajar rejects this statement. He died in Baghdad in 885.

Aṭ-Ṭālaqānī is regarded as the best traditionist of his time in Khurasan. He is acknowledged by the distinguished Baghdadian traditionist Dāraqutnī as a reliable master and traditions are related on aṭ-Ṭālaqānī's authority in the Sunans of Abū-Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, and an-Nasāʿī.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.33 Abū-ʿAmr al-Mustamlī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Mubārakī (Mubārak), and he was a native of Nishapur. He received the nisba al-Mustamlī probably because he wrote down, with devotion, information from other scholars. It is said that he wrote down traditions from 842 until his death in 897. He learned traditions in Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz from the masters of those countries including Qutayba ibn-Saʿīd, Sahl ibn-ʿUthmān, Yazīd ibn-Ṣāliḥ and Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal. In Nishapur he taught

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1. I H, IV, 103; Tadh., II, 43; Khaṭ., IX, 89-90;

Ibn-Abī-Yaʿlā, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 168.

traditions to numerous students whose names are not given by his biographers, but it is reported that later, the most profound traditionist of Nishapur Abū-Ḥamid ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ) taught traditions on the authority of al-Mustamlī.<sup>1</sup>

#### A.34 Ibn-Salama

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Salama, with the kunya Abū-'l-Faḍl, and he was a native of Nishapur. He accompanied Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) on his travels in Ḥijāz, Iraq, Syria and Egypt and during this time he heard traditions from Qutayba ibn-Sa'īd and 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Mu'āwiya. Then he heard some in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). He made a collection of traditions which is said to have resembled that of Muslim's even to the extent of taking the same name because it was entitled al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ. Unfortunately this work is no longer extant. Ibn-Salama died in Nishapur in 899.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., II, 196; Shadh., II, 186; cf. Ans., f.529a; Lub., III, 136.

2. Tadh., II, 190-191; Shadh., II, 192.

## A.35 Abū-Muḥammad al-Madīnī

His name was 'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-Yahya. He was a native of Medina. He read the Muwatta' under the author Mālik ibn-Anas and learned traditions from al-Layth, Sulaymān ibn-Bilāl, Ibn-Wahb, Sa'īd ibn-Bishr and from other masters of traditions in Ḥijāz and Iraq. In 849 he came to Nishapur where he taught Abū-'Amr al-Mustamli ( I. A. 33 ). It is reported that Abū-Zur'a ar-Rāzī regarded al-Madīnī as an unreliable traditionist. The date of al-Madīnī's death is not recorded.<sup>1</sup>

## A.36 Abū-Aḥmad al-Farrā'

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb ibn-Ḥabīb ibn-Mihrān. He was a native of Nishapur. His nisba al-Farrā' was, according to as-Sam'ānī and ibn-al-Athīr, given to those who manufactured furs and traded them. He learned traditions and studied jurisprudence under his father. He also received traditions from his paternal cousin Bishr ibn-al-Ḥakam and from Abū-Naṣr Ḥāshim, Ya'lā ibn-'Ubayd, al-Wāqidī, Ya'qūb az-Zuhri, Sulaymān al-Ḥāshimī and others. It is said that traditions were delivered on his authority by Aḥmad as-

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1. I H , VI, 363.

Sarakhsī ( I. A. 20 ) Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ( I. A. 29 ), Abū-‘Awāna ( II. I. 16 ), Abū-‘l-‘Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ), al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ) and al-Mustamlī ( I. A. 33 ). Ibn-Ḥajar noted that al-Farrā’ was praised by Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and that Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) included him among the reliable traditionists in his work ath-Thiqāt. Al-Farrā’ mastered the subjects of traditions, jurisprudence, and literature and it is said that he gave excellent opinions on these subjects. His date of death is not recorded but he probably died in the last decade of the 9th century.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I H , IX, 319-320; see the nisba "al-Farrā’", Ans., f.219b; Lub., II, 198.

## IV

THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN

THE HANAFITES: IBN-ṬAHMĀN, ABŪ-‘UMAR AL-FAQĪH, BISHRUWAYHI  
AND HIS SONS, ABŪ-NAṢR AL-LABBĀD AND ḤIKĀN. THE  
SHĀFI‘ITES: IBN-RĀHŪYA AND ABŪ-‘ABD-ALLĀH AL-QURASHĪ.  
THE FOUNDER OF THE ZĀHIRITE SCHOOL OF JURISPRUDENCE  
DĀWŪD IBN-KHALAF AND THE FOUNDER OF THE KARRĀMITE SCHOOL  
OF THEOLOGY IBN-KARRĀM.

The Qur’ān and traditions of the Prophet provided the foundation of jurisprudence, fiqh, and theology, kalām, in Islam. All aspects of public life, private life and business should be regulated according to laws recognised by religion; the science of these laws in jurisprudence. It was together with the movement of studying traditions that jurisprudence came to be developed by individual jurists, who built up a great mass of literature arising out of numberless difficulties in the application of the simple rules provided in the Qur’ān. Some jurists tended to introduce laws relying exclusively on the traditions of the Prophet represented by the Ḥijāzians, while others followed more or less the systems of 'analogy', qiyās, and 'personal opinion', ra’y, supplemented by the traditions of the Prophet, represented by the Iraqis. These different trends of systems in law were developed by a long process into four main Sunnite schools or rites in Islam. They were the Ḥanafite, the Mālikite, the Shāfi‘ite and the Ḥanbalite. Of these schools, the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi‘ite had become prevalent by the tenth century as the main schools of jurisprudence in Khurasan generally and particularly in

Nishapur. From a doctrinal point of view the Ḥanafite attitude in law was less strict than the Shāfi'ite and permitted freer use of ra'y, qiyās and istiḥsān, relying less on the traditions of the prophet. However the differences between both schools do not amount to much.<sup>1</sup>

The Ḥanafite school was the first to flourish in Nishapur due to the influence of individual scholars who were acquainted with and studied under the founder of the school, Abū-Ḥanīfa; we may mention particularly Ibn-Ṭahmān ( I. B. 1 ) and Abū-'Umar al-Faqīh ( I. B. 2 ).<sup>2</sup>

Ibn-Ṭahmān was a native of Herat. He received traditions during his period of study in Baghdad from Abū-Ḥanīfa and Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna. He became noted as a jurist and traditionist. Suffice it to mention with regard to his fame as a traditionist that traditions were related on his authority in the six Ṣiḥāḥs and as a jurist he is said to have been a Ḥanafite and a follower of the Murji'ite doctrines. He is reported to have made an attempt to form a group of followers of Murji'ite doctrines in Nishapur but there is no trace of any evidence of such a group of Murji'ites or intellectuals named after him being active in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup> We may mention here that the chief doctrine of Murji'ism consisted in the 'suspending', irjā', of those who committed acts contrary

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 374; Aḥmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām, II, 151-156; Schacht, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Fiqh"; S E I, "Fiqh"; A L, 233-234; detail of the system of the four Sunnite school of jurisprudence, see Fitzgerald, Muhammadan law, 10-16; Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology, 94-111;

2. See below, (list No. I. A), 607.

3. Mizān., I, 33; Jaw., I, 39; Khaṭ., VI, 105-111.

to the Prophet's teachings and not in publicly declaring them to be infidels. On the political side, the Murji'ites appear to have supported the Umayyad dynasty and this may be one of the reasons for this minor school's rapid eclipse in the early years of 'Abbāsid rule.<sup>1</sup> Records also show that there were upholders of Murji'ism among the ascetics in Nishapur such as Ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ) and his disciple Yahya ibn-Mu'adh ar-Rāzī ( I. F. 4 ), as well as among the early shaykhs of the Malāmite path.<sup>2</sup>

Another Ḥanafite jurist who was also reported to be a follower of the Murji'ite doctrines was Abū-'Umar al-Faqīh. He was a native of Balkh. Having studied in Baghdad, notably under Abū-Ḥanīfa and Sufyān ath-Thawrī, he came to Nishapur where he took up the appointment of qādī. He can be regarded as the first Ḥanafite to hold this office in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup>

In the first half of the ninth century the family of Bishruwayhi ( I. B. 6 ) seems to have been the most learned among the Ḥanafites in Nishapur. Bishruwayhi himself studied in Iraq and Ḥijāz and received traditions from eminent masters, notably Mālik ibn-Anas and al-Layth ibn-Sa'd. He was held in high esteem as a traditionist and as a Ḥanafite jurist. It was he who taught his sons Sahl, al-Ḥusayn ( I. B. 8 ) and al-Ḥasan ( I. B. 9 ). We know nothing of Sahl, but al-Ḥusayn

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1. A L , 263; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 247; Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, I, 27-35, Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, 224; ibid., E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Murđji'a"; S E I, "Al-Murđji'a".

2. See below, (list No. I. D), 619; see also, 96.

3. Jaw., I, 221; I H , II, 404; See below, (list No. 3), 631.

became qāḍī of Nishapur and al-Ḥasan also became qāḍī as well as muftī of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

In the second half of the ninth century Nishapur produced a renowned Ḥanafite scholar. He was the chief of the school and his name was Abū-Naṣr al-Labbād ( I. B. 15 ) who was a pupil of the chief of the Ḥanafites in Baghdad, Bishr ibn-al-Walīd al-Qāḍī ( d. 852 ).<sup>2</sup> But the most influential Ḥanafite personality at this time was Abū-Zakariyyā Yaḥya ibn-Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī, better known as Ḥikān ( II:B.11 ). His career cast light on the jurist's role in the political affairs of Khurasan: Ḥikān was the son of the famous traditionist, Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), and he was educated in Nishapur and Baghdad. He was noted in Nishapur as a reliable traditionist and as a Ḥanafite jurist. He took up the career of volunteer in the army which cost him his life. Ibn-al-Athīr reports that when the fight began between the general Aḥmad ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh al-Khujastānī, the supporter of the ousted government of the Ṭāhirids, and the head of the new military government, Yaʿqūb the Ṣaffārid, the people of Nishapur and particularly the jurists and the army volunteers Muṭṭawwiʿa headed by Ḥikān supported the new government.

However al-Khujastānī engaged the Ṣaffārid army in a sporadic war and he managed, after the death of Yaʿqūb (d. 878), to take some cities in Khurasan out of Ṣaffārid hands; and in 879 he successfully invaded Nishapur and made it his seat of

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1. Jaw., 166; 190-191; I.H., II, 256; see below, (Lists Nos. 3, 4), 631, 634.

2. Jaw., 122-123; Lub., III, 65; Ans., ff. 493a - 493b. see below, (List No.I.A ), 607.



government. The popularity of the Ṣaffārīd agent Ḥikān among the people of Nishapur and his strength as the head of the volunteers threatened the security of the new government. Therefore al-Khujustānī tried to destroy his popularity by treating the Ḥanafite jurists with respect and favouring them with honours. Al-Khujustānī claimed that Ḥikān was a follower of the Ḥijāzī school and in this way he received the support of the jurists of the city and weakened the power of Ḥikān. But when al-Khujustānī departed from Nishapur leaving behind him a deputy who appears to have favoured the 'ayyārs and who encouraged corruption in the city, the people of Nishapur and particularly the jurists deserted the government cause and reverted to Ḥikān. Under his leadership and with the support of 'Amr ibn-al-Layth, the Ṣaffārīds were able to organize a revolt and successfully took control of Nishapur, imprisoning the deputy. But when the news of the revolt reached al-Khujustānī he returned to Nishapur in 881; the revolt collapsed and its leader Ḥikān was executed, but a year later al-Khujustānī was assassinated and Nishapur was again under the rule of the Ṣaffārīds.<sup>1</sup>

The Ḥanafites, being the first to be represented in Nishapur, were naturally anxious to see that the fatwās were given by them and the legal office of qāḍā', which was usually given to scholars who were specialists in religious law, was also occupied by them. The successive local governments of Ṭāhirīds, Ṣaffārīds, Sāmānīds, Ghaznavīds, as well as the great

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1. Kāmil., VII, 204, 208, 210; Jaw., II, 217; Khaṭ., XIV, 217-219; Muntaẓam, V<sup>2</sup>, 62; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 14-15.

Seljuqs, seem to have been sympathetic to the Ḥanafites. Therefore the qāḍīs depended in their judgments on Ḥanafite law and the office therefore was occupied usually by Ḥanafite jurists. The office seems to have been kept within the members of eminent families of Nishapur, such as the Bishruwayhi family, the Ṭabbānīs and the Ṣā'idīs.<sup>1</sup>

In the second half of the ninth century Shāfi'ism became represented by a few scholars; we know that Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ) and Ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1) were among them. The former was a pupil of Abū-'Ubayda (d. 825); he went to Egypt and there he taught the famous Shāfi'ite scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) the science of jurisprudence.<sup>2</sup> The latter, Ibn-Rāhūya, is said to have had direct contact with the founder of the Shāfi'ite school the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī (d.820). He had several legal discussions at Mecca with ash-Shāfi'ī during the course of which he became convinced by his teachings and from thenceforward he became an ardent follower of the Shāfi'ite doctrines. He is held in great esteem by his biographers, such as Ibn-'Imād, who refers to him as "the scholar of the East", and as-Subkī, who calls him "the imām of religion who combined the knowledge of jurisprudence and tradition with piety". He was reputed to have memorised by rote 70,000 traditions, each with full

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1. See below, 266-268, and (List No.3), 631-633.

2. Subk., I, 287; I H., 86; see below, (List No.1.B), 609.

isnād. He was one of the earliest Shāfi'ite writers, as we have mentioned above, to have composed the Musnad which have come down to us.<sup>1</sup>

A pupil of Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya and of Ibn-Ḥanbal was Dāwūd ibn-Khalaf az-Zāhirī ( I. D. 1 ) who was born in Kūfa and studied in Nishapur and Baghdad. In the latter place he spent most of his life. Dāwūd was the founder of a minor school of jurisprudence called az-Zāhiriyya or ad-Dāwūdiyya. Adh-Dhahabī regards him as a 'fanatic', muta'aṣib, Shāfi'ite but in fact he was an extreme representative of the Ḥanbalite school. The Zāhirite school relied exclusively on the 'literal', zāhir, meaning of the Qur'ān and the traditions of the Prophet and it rejected as contrary to religion the qiyās, ra'y, istihsān and taqlīd. It regarded as the only legally valid 'consensus', ijmā', that of the traditions related by the Prophet and his Companions.<sup>2</sup> The Zāhirite school however was represented in Nishapur later, in the tenth century, by individual mystics such as Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq ( II. N. 5 ) and Ibn-Munāzil ( II. N. 7 ), who were reported by ash-Shā'rānī to be the leading followers of the Zāhirite school.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., I, 232-235; Shadh., II, 89; Khaṭ., VI, 345-355; Tadh., II, 19-20; Miftāḥ., II, 157; Mizān., I, 182; see above, 31.

2. Mizān., 14-16; I Kh., I, 219-220; Subk., II, 42-44; Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 374; on the Zāhirite system of jurisprudence see Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, I, 134-135; Macdonald, Aspects of Islam, 236-239; ibid, Development of Muslim Theology etc., 108-110; Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, 161; Schacht, Introduction to Islamic Law, 63-64; Strothmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Zāhiriyya".

3. See below, 231 - 232.

There were some scholars in Nishapur who are reported to have studied theology and to have become noted as theologians. The first to be represented in Islam were the Mu'tazalites who in their rationalistic study of the Qur'ān and their directing of their inquiries especially to the existence and attributes of the deity, were opposed by the whole Sunnite body of Islam. They were first recognised as a theological school during the reign of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813 - 833) and their activity ceased soon after the death of this Caliph.<sup>1</sup> However, it seems that the doctrines of the school were represented later by individual scholars who lived in the tenth and eleventh century and were particularly noted as Ḥanafite jurists.

These were az-Zujjājī (II. J. 8), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Bukhārī (II.J.15), an-Nāṣiḥī (III. R. 13) and aṣ-Ṣandalī (III.R.14).<sup>2</sup>

However, on the theological side, the scholar credited with exploding the Mu'tazalite dogmas and re-establishing the Sunnite creed, was Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī (d. 935-6) whose theological school was called after him the Ash'arite.<sup>3</sup> This school was very active in Nishapur in the second half of the

1. Hitti, History of the Arabs., 430; A L, 262-263; on the science of kalām see Macdonald E I<sup>1</sup>, "Kalām"; S E I, "Kalām"; on the doctrines of the Mu'tazalites see, Zettersteen, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Mu'tazila"; S E I, "Mu'tazila"; Watt, Islamic Philosophy and Theology, I, 58-71; Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, 66-82; Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-milal wa'n-niḥal, 29-31.

2. See below, 334.

3. Hitti, op. cit., 430 - 431; A L, 264-266; on the Ash'arites theological doctrines, ibid., 82-89; Shahrastānī, op.cit., 65-75; Watt, op.cit., 82-89; ibid., E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ash'ariyya".

tenth century and included great scholars who were Shāfi'ites in jurisprudence, notably Ibn-Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ), Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī ( III. T. 3 ) and Abū-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī ( III. T. 5 ): and later Nishapur provided the most distinguished teacher of Ash'arism, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī known as Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ), as well as his pupil Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), who is unquestionably the greatest Muslim thinker.<sup>2</sup>

It was apparently from among the Ḥanafites that there came another group of ascetics and theologians called the Karrāmites whose founder was Ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ), a man from Sijistān who spent much of his life in Nishapur. His opponents alleged that he held the doctrine of 'anthropomorphism', tajsīm, tashbīh, and that his chief theological doctrine was that the Divine Being is a 'Substance', jawhar, for which some of his followers substituted 'Body', jism.<sup>1</sup> Whether these allegations were true or not, the Karrāmites' own opinion is that they were the true representative of the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence and this was attested by the verses from the famous Karrāmite poet Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī ( III. X. 3 ) who said "the only true 'system of jurisprudence', fiqh, is that of Abū-Ḥanīfa, just as the only true 'religious system', dīn, is

1. In addition to the references given in the biography of Ibn-Karrām, see below, 90 - 92, and articles written by Bosworth with additional references, Bosworth "The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan", M W, L (1960), 5-14; Bos., 185-189; on the doctrines of the Karrāmites see, al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bayna al-firaq, 215-225; Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-milal wa'n-niḥal, 79-85; Wensinck, The Muslim Creed, 209; 267; Macdonald, Development of Muslim Theology etc., 171-172; Tritton, Muslim Theology, 49, 111, 136, 194.

that of Ibn-Karrām".<sup>1</sup> The teachings of Ibn-Karrām were contained in his work entitled, 'Adhāb al-qabr, and some excerpts from his book are given in al-Baghdādī's work al-Farq bayna al-firaq.<sup>2</sup> This latter work contains the earliest account which we have of the Karrāmite doctrines and the author states that the Karrāmite sect was subdivided into three minor sects: al-Ḥaqqāqiyya, aṭ-Ṭarā'iqiyya and al-Ishāqiyya.<sup>3</sup> Another subdivision of the Karrāmite sect is given by ash-Shahrastānī who states that the sect was divided into twelve minor sects, of which he names six; Ishāqiyya, 'Ābidiyya, Nūniyya, Zarābiyya, Wāḥidiyya and Hayḍamiyya. Of these, we can identify the first, which was undoubtedly named after Abū-Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn-Maḥmashādh ( II. M. 1 ), and the last, which was named after the chief Karrāmite theologian, Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 6 ).<sup>4</sup>

On the death of Ibn-Karrām, his followers were already great in number: aṣ-Ṣafadī counted over 20,000 of his followers in Jerusalem and by the tenth century Karrāmite followers and khānqāhs were found in Baghdad, Jerusalem and Fustāṭ: in addition khānqāhs were founded in Jūzjān, Khuttal, Farghāna, Marw and Samarqand.<sup>5</sup>

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1. 'Utbi, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, II, 310; Jurbādḥqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i-Yamīnī, 254.

2. Baghdādī, Al-Farq bayna al-firaq, 216, 219-220.

3. Ibid., op.cit., 215.

4. Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-milāl wa'n-niḥāl, 79-80.

5. Wāfī., IV, 375; M B, II, 39; Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 179, 182, 202, 323. cf. Bosworth, "The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan", M W, L (1960), 7. Bos., 186.

Present day writers suggest that these khānqāhs, together with the madrasas of the Karrāmites, which were heard of later, provided the origin of the Sunnite madrasas founded in the 11th century. No evidence has been found to support this theory. On the other hand there were already in the 10th century madrasas founded by Shāfi'ite scholars such as that of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī ( II. K. 5 ) and that of Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ).<sup>1</sup>

The Karrāmites became firmly established in Nishapur at an early date as a sect with a great following. By the latter half of the tenth century, the Karrāmites in Nishapur were led by Abū-Ya'qūb Ishāq ibn-Mahmashādh ( II. M. 1 ), famed as an ascetic and a preacher; he is said to have converted over 5000 People of the Book and Zoroastrians in Nishapur. He made a deep impression on the general Sebūktigin, the founder of the Ghaznavid dynasty, when he was a Sāmānid commander in Khurasan and he is said actually to have converted Sebūktigin to the Karrāmite beliefs. His son Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ) was also an ascetic as well as a teacher. He succeeded his father as the leader of the Karrāmites in Nishapur and was favoured and respected by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mahmūd, who appointed Abū-Bakr as ra'īs of the city of Nishapur. During his occupation of this office the Karrāmites reached the zenith of their political power and strength in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bos., 186; Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 232; see below, (List No.2), 625.

2. see below, 260 - 262; cf. Bos., 186-189.

B. C. D. E.THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN (700 - 900)

## B

THE HANAFITES

## B.1 Ibn-Ṭahmān

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Ṭahmān, with the kunya Abū-Sa'īd. He was born in Herat but spent his childhood and a considerable part of his life in Nishapur. His time and energy were devoted to the search for and the study of religious knowledge. During his travels, he encountered such masters of the traditions as 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Dīnār and 'Umar ibn-Dīnār. At some unspecified date, he came to Baghdad where he is known to have received traditions, inter alia, from the Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa and Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna. He subsequently left for Mecca where he died in 776.

Ibn-Ṭahmān was one of the foremost scholars of Khurasan, a Ḥanafite jurist and a reliable traditionist. It is reported that traditions were related on his authority in the six collections of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), Abū-Dāwūd, Ibn-Māja, an-Nasā'ī and at-Tirmidhī.

Ibn-Ṭahmān was also regarded by the famous scholars of Baghdad, Dāraquṭnī and Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal as a follower of the Murji'ite doctrine, and, according to-al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, Ibn-Ṭahmān preached this doctrine in Nishapur and attempted to persuade the jurists of the city to hold it. Ibn-Ṭahmān was one of the earliest writers in Khurasan to write books on religious knowledge. One of his works, the Tafsīr, concerned the interpretation of the Qur'ān. His collection of traditions



was called al-Sunan fi 'l-fiqh, in which traditions were collected for jurisprudential uses, but neither of his works are now extant.<sup>1</sup>

## B.2 Abū-'Umar al-Faqīh

His name was Ḥafṣ ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Farrūkh.<sup>2</sup> His father was a native of Balkh who had come to Nishapur, where he had been appointed qāḍī of the city. He had two sons 'Abd-Allāh and Ḥafṣ. Ḥafṣ came to Iraq where he studied jurisprudence and learned traditions from Abū-Ḥanīfa, Sufyān ath-Thawrī, Isrā'īl ibn-Yūnus and other masters of Iraq. He became one of the most profound jurists among the Ḥanafites of Khurasan. Ibn-Ḥajar, however mentions, on the authority of Ibn-Ḥibbān (II.K.9), that Ḥafṣ was a follower of the Murji'ite doctrine. Ḥafṣ was held in great esteem by the people of Nishapur. The officials appointed him qāḍī of the city. Later he retired from this office and spent the rest of his life in a state of asceticism. He died in Nishapur in 814.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Khaṭ., VI, 105-111; Jaw., I, 39;

T N., 15; Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 319;

Mizān., I, 38;

Ibn-Ḥibbān, Mashāhīr

'ulamā' al-amṣār, 199-120.

2. or Farrūkh, a Persian name; Ibn-al-Khaṭīb ad-Daḥsha, Tahfat dhawī-'l-'Arab, 90.

3. Jaw., I, 221; I H., II, 404; Mizān., I, 560.

## B.3 Al-Jārūd

His name was al-Jārūd ibn-Yazīd. He received the kunya of Abū-'Alī and the laqab of aḍ-Daḥḥāk. He was a native of Nishapur and one of the pupils who studied under Abū-Ḥanīfa in Iraq. He also learned traditions in the latter place from Bahz ibn-al-Ḥakīm and 'Umar ibn-dhar. According to al-khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, al-Jārūd came to Baghdad and taught traditions there to 'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-'Āṣim and Muḥammad ibn-Zanjuwayhi. He died either in 818 or in 820.<sup>1</sup>

## B.4 Al-Buzdigharī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Rajā' ibn-al-Qāsim. He was born in Buzdigha, which is, according to Yāqūt, one of the villages of Nishapur. Al-Buzdigharī is regarded by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' as one of the greatest jurists of Nishapur and he studied jurisprudence in the city under Ayyūb ibn-al-Ḥasan (I.B.10) and Aḥmad ibn-Ḥarḥ. He also learned traditions in Nishapur from 'Amr ibn-Zurāra ( I. G. 2 ) and Ibn-Rāfi' ( I. A. 15 ) and mention is made that traditions were delivered on his authority by the Nishapurians Abū-'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn-Ḥārūn at-Tabbānī ( II. J. 10 ) and Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān. He died in 324.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 176; Khaṭ., VII, 261; Mizān, I, 384.

2. M B , I, 604; Jaw., I, 300.

## B.5 Ibn-Abī-'l-Azhar

His name was Bishr ibn-Yazīd. He was a native of Nishapur. He went to Kūfa where he studied jurisprudence under the distinguished pupil of Abū-Ḥanīfa, Abū-Yūsuf al-Qāḍī. Then Bishr became muftī of Kūfa and a distinguished teacher of the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence. It is reported that traditions were delivered on his authority in Nishapur by Abū-'Alī al-Ḥadīnī and Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ).. He died in 828.<sup>1</sup>

## B.6 Bishruwayhi

His name was Bishr ibn-al-Qāsim ibn-Ḥammād, with the kunya of Abū-Sahl. He was of Arabian descent, of the tribe of Sulaym. He had three sons, Sahl, Ḥasan ( I. B. 9 ) and al-Ḥusayn ( I. B. 8 ), of whom two, Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, became qāḍīs in Nishapur. Bishr travelled through Iraq and Ḥijāz and learned traditions from several authorities in both countries: among these were Mālik ibn-Anas, al-Layth ibn-Sa'd, Ibn-Lahī'a and Sharīk ibn-'Abd-Allāh al-Qāḍī. He became noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and an authority on tradition. It was he who taught his sons al-Ḥusayn and al-Ḥasan, the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence. He died in 830.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 168; T N., 20.

2. Jaw., I, 166.

## B.7 Al-‘Āmirī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ḥājj. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to the ‘Āmirī, which was the name of three Arabian tribes. He went to Iraq where he studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence under the famous pupil of Abū-Ḥanīfa, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī. He also received traditions from ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ) and Sufyān ibn-‘Uyayna. In Nishapur he became noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and it is said that the leader of Ḥanafites Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr al-Labbād ( I. B. 13 ) heard traditions from him. He died in 851.<sup>1</sup>

## B.8 Al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-Bishr ibn-al-Qāsim. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the above mentioned. He studied jurisprudence under his father and learned traditions from Yazīd ibn-Ḥazīm. He became the qāḍī of Nishapur. He died in 856.<sup>2</sup>

## B.9 Al-Ḥasan ibn-Bishr

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Bishr ibn-al-Qāsim. He was a native of Nishapur and the brother of the above-mentioned (I.B.8). He studied jurisprudence under his father. Then he left Nishapur and went to Iraq where he continued his studies under

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1. Jaw., I, 62-63, 327; cf. The nisba "al-‘Āmirī", Ans., f.378b, 379a; Lub., II, 106-107.
  2. Jaw., I, 166, 208.

al-Ḥasan ibn-Ziyād al-Lu'lu'ī. He also received traditions from Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna and Wakī' ibn-al-Jarrāh. Then he left Iraq and went to Egypt. He made the acquaintance there of the secretary of al-Layth, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṣāliḥ, and heard traditions from him. Having finished his education, Bishr came back to Nishapur and became qāḍī of the city and the muftī of the Ḥanafite sect. He died in Nishapur in 858.<sup>1</sup>

#### B.10 Abū-'l-Ḥusayn an-Naysābūrī

His name was Ayyūb ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur and studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan. He gave lectures in Nishapur on the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence and among his popular students was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sufyān ( II. J. 5 ). He died in 865.<sup>2</sup>

#### B.11 Ḥikān

His name was Yahya ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Yahya ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Khālīd ibn-Fāris. He received the kunya Abū-Zakariyyā. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the shaykh of the traditionists in the city, Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ). He studied traditions in Nishapur under Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1), then he went to Baghdad where he met Ibn-Ḥanbal and received from him the tradition which is given in Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila. It is also said that he taught traditions in Baghdad on the authority of Abū-'Umar al-Ḥādī and Yahya ibn-Yahya an-

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1. Jaw., I, 190-191; I H, II, 256.

2. Ibid., I, 163-164.

Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ). He came back to Nishapur and was held there as a leading Ḥanafite jurist a muftī and a trustworthy traditionist. Once he held a discussion with his father on a point of law and a dispute arose between them, before both agreed that the Shāfiʿite scholar Ibn-Khazayma ( I. K. 4 ) should judge between them. Then Ibn-Khuzayma judged in favour of Ḥikān's father. Ḥikān met his death when he and his followers revolted against the governor of Nishapur Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh al-Khujastānī. He was executed in 881.<sup>1</sup>

#### B.12 Abū-Yaḥya al-ʿAtakī

His name was Sahl ibn-ʿAmmār ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur and received the nisba al-ʿAtakī because he belonged to the ʿAtak which was a clan of the Arabian tribe called al-Azd. He studied traditions in Wasīṭ under the great Ḥanafite jurist of that city, Ḥarūn ibn-Yazīd. Then he became noted as one of the followers of the Ḥanafite school of jurisprudence and was appointed qāḍī first of Ṭūs, then of Herat. He died in 881.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., II, 217; Khaṭ., XIV, 217-219; Muntazam, V<sup>2</sup>, 62; I H, XI, 276-277; Ibn-Abī-Yaʿlā, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 407; see above, 68-69.

2. Jaw., I, 253, II, 220, 228.

## B.13 Abū-Naṣr Al-Labbād

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr. He received the nisba an-Naysābūrī from being a native of Nishapur and the laqab of al-Labbād because of his occupation as a manufacturer of felt. He studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence under Bishr ibn-al-Walīd al-Qāḍī, probably in Baghdad. He became the ra'īs of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur. Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' quotes from Ta'riḥ Naysābūr of al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), one of the judicial sayings of Sufyān ath-Thawrī transmitted by al-Labbād. Al-Labbād died in 893.<sup>1</sup>

## B.14 Abū-'Alī ar-Ramjārī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Ayyūb. He was born in one of the big quarters of Nishapur called Ramjār and hence he received the nisba ar-Ramjārī. Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' quotes from Ta'riḥ Naysābūr of al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī that ar-Ramjārī was one of the foremost jurists of Nishapur. He was a friend of Ibn-Abī-'l-Azhar Bishr al-Qāḍī ( I. B. 5 ) and went with him to Iraq where they both studied jurisprudence under Abū-Yūsuf al-Qāḍī. It is reported that Abū-'Amr al-Mustamlī (I.A.33)

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1. Jaw., I, 122-123; 166-167; II, 384; Lub., III, 65;  
Ans., ff.493a-493b.

recorded in his notes that ar-Ramjārī was a resident of the quarter of ar-Ramjār, one of the most reliable jurists and a man of culture. His date of death is not recorded but he probably died in the first half of the 9th century since he was a friend of Bishr al-Qāḍī.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 190; cf. Ans., f. 258b. MB, II, 816; Lub., I, 476.



## THE SHĀFI'ITES

### C.1 Ibn-Rāhūya

His name was Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Mukhallad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Maṭar. He received the kunya Abū-Ya'qūb but was known by his laqab Ibn-Rāhūya.<sup>1</sup> He was born in the city of Marw in 777 or 782 and while still a youth he took up the study of traditions in his birth place under the famous master of Khurasan, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ). Before completing his studies, he left Marw in 800 and went on a long journey throughout Khurasan, Iraq and Hijāz. During his travels he continued to study traditions under various masters amongst whom were Jarīr ibn-'Abd-al-Ḥamīd, Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna, 'Abd-al-'Azīz ad-Dāwardī and Wakī' ibn-al-Jarrāḥ. In Baghdad he became an intimate friend of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal. As a result of this intensive study he became one of the foremost shaykhs of traditions in his generation.

On his visit to Mecca he made the acquaintance of ash-Shāfi'ī and held many discussions with him on various points of law. He was eventually persuaded to follow the doctrines of ash-Shāfi'ī and returned to Khurasan to become one of the main exponents of these doctrines in that province. On his return to Khurasan he chose for his place of residence the city of Nishapur and there he met Yaḥya ibn-Yaḥya an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ) who introduced him to the governor, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir. He became an intimate friend of the governor who

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1. Ibn-Rāhūya or Ibn-Rāhawayhi was the Persian laqab given to the scholar mentioned above because he was born on the route, rah, to Mecca. He was called by the Marwazians by this title although he himself disliked it, Ans., f.245f; Lub., I, 455; Subk., I, 233; Ibn-al-Khaṭīb ad-Dahsha, Tuhfat dhawi-'l-'Arab, 53; T N, 18.

showered him with honours and treated him with great respect. It is even said that the governor settled his outstanding debts in Marw which amounted to some 30,000 dirhams. Ibn-Rāhūya remained for the rest of his life in Nishapur and met al-Bakhārī ( I. A. 23 ) during the latter's visit to the city. He died in Nishapur in 852.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Rāhūya was a renowned traditionist and jurist. During his lectures he is reputed to have dictated 70,000 traditions giving full isnāds. His importance can be measured by the fact that al-Bukharī, Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), an-Nasā'ī, Abū-Dāwūd, at-Tirmidhī, Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal, Ibn-Manī', Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I.A.22 ) and Ishāq al-Kūsaj all related traditions on his authority. In addition Ibn-Rāhūya was the author of several compilations: one was on traditions and entitled al-Musnad and another was a collection of traditions written for jurisprudential use entitled as-Sunan fi 'l-fiqh. He is also thought to have written an interpretation of the Qur'ān entitled at-Tafsīr, but none of his writings are now wholly extant though the fourth volume of his al-Musnad still survives to this day.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., I, 232-234; I Ḥ, I, 216-218; Khaṭ., VI, 345-355; Mizān., I, 182; Shadh., II, 89; Tadh., II, 19-20; Ibn-Abī-Ya'la, Tabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 109; Miftāḥ., II, 157.
  2. Subk., I, 24; 234; Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 321; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 36-37; Ḥ Kh., I, 442: II, 583, 1678.

## C.2     Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr ibn-Ziyād. He was a native of Nishapur and a descendant of the Arab Tribe of Quraysh, whence he received the nisba al-Qurashī. During one of his many travels he met Abū-'Ubayda (d.825) in Iraq and learned from him the science of jurisprudence. It is reported that during al-Qurashī's last visit to Egypt he taught Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) some principles of law. He died in 859.

Al-Qurashī was regarded as a Shāfi'ite, a reliable traditionist and a reader of the Qur'ān. It is said that traditions were mentioned on his authority in the works of at-Tirmidhī, an-Nasā'ī, al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) and Muslim (I. A. 28).<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., I, 287; I H., I, 85-86; Tadh., II, 110;  
T G., I, 145.

THE FOUNDER OF THE ZĀHIRITE SCHOOL OF JURISPRUDENCE

Dāwūd aẓ-Zāhirī

His name was Dāwūd ibn-'Alī ibn-Khalaf. He received the kunya Abū-Sulaymān. He came from a family which lived in Iṣṣpāhān and he was therefore called al-Iṣṣbahānī. The nisba aẓ-Zāhirī derives from the fact that he later became the founder of the Zāhirite school of jurisprudence. Dāwūd's birth took place in Kūfa in 815 or in 818. He spent most of his youth in Baghdad, however, where he met the famous master Ibn-Ḥanbal and became one of his pupils. Later he left Baghdad and went to Nishapur where he attended the classes given by the Shāfi'ite master Ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.I) and read his master's work, al-Musnad. After finishing his studies he returned to Baghdad where he became highly esteemed as a teacher and a muftī. He died in Baghdad in 884.<sup>1</sup>

The school of jurisprudence which was founded by Dāwūd relies exclusively on the 'literal', ẓāhir, meaning of the Qur'ān and the traditions from the Prophet and rejects as contrary to religion not only the free exercise of 'personal opinion', ra'y, which had been customary before ash-Shāfi'ī but even the use of 'analogy', qiyās, and 'approval', istiḥsān, which ash-Shāfi'ī retained.<sup>2</sup> In theology it is reported by adh-Dhahabī and as-Subkī that Dāwūd held the Mu'tazalite opinion that the 'Qur'ān is created' which he manifested during his discussions in Nishapur with his

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1. Subk., II, 42-44; Shadh., II, 158; Khaṭ., VIII, 369-375; Liẓān., II, 14-16; Tadh., II, 136-137; Lub., II, 99-100; Ans., f.376b; Abū-Na'aym, Dhikr Ta'rīkh Iṣṣbahān, I., 312-313; I Kh., I, 219-220.
  2. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqadimma, 374; Schacht, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Dāwūd B. 'Alī B. Khalaf"; Ibid., Introduction to Islamic Law., 63-64. see above, 71.

teacher, Ibn-Rāhūya. They also report that his teacher in Baghdad, Ahmad ibn-Ḥanbal, refused to see him when he came back from Nishapur. However this report is doubtful since his school of jurisprudence was exclusively contrary to the Mu'tazalite doctrines and he himself was an extreme representative of the Ḥanbalite school which was founded by his teacher Ibn-Ḥanbal. Moreover, as we mentioned above, he restricted the sources of jurisprudence to the Qur'an and traditions and since the holy text was the first main source of his legal theory, it is difficult to accept this report.<sup>1</sup>

Dāwūd was the author of many writings; according to Ibn-an-Nadīm he wrote the following works:

1. Al-Īdāh
2. Al-Ifṣāḥ
3. Ad-Da'wa wa-'l-bayānāt
4. Al-Uṣūl
5. Al-Ḥayḍ

Ibn-an-Nadīm, on the other hand, gives a much longer list of his works, on the authority of Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq; in this list, he mentions by name over a hundred and thirty works written by Dāwūd. However all Dāwūd's works are lost except his treatise entitled Risālat Dāwūd aṣ-Ṣāḥirī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 43-44; Mizān., II, 14-16.

2. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 303-305; G A L S , I, 312; Another list of his works are given by aṣ-Ṣafadī, cf. Wafī, III, 58.

THE FOUNDER OF THE KARRĀMITE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

E.1 Ibn-Karrām<sup>1</sup>

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Karrām ibn-ʿArraf ibn-Khurāya as-Sajazī as-Sijistānī an-Naysābūrī. He received the kunya Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh and was of Arab descent, of the tribe of Banū-Nazār. He was born in 805 near the village of Zaranj in Sijistān. He later went to Khurasan where he attended the classes of Aḥmad ibn-Ḥarb the ascetic in Balkh and heard traditions from Ibrāhīm ibn-Yūsuf al-Mākiyānī; in Marw he heard them from ʿAlī-ibn-Ḥajar (I.C.3) and finally in Herat he heard them from ʿAbd-Allāh ʿAlī-ibn-Mālik as-Sulaymānī. From 844 to 849 he stayed in Mecca as mujāwir, before he returned, possibly via Jerusalem, to Nishapur. Afterwards he returned to Sijistān where he took a vow of poverty and sold all his property. He began preaching his doctrine, but the governor of his native province Sijistān

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1. Karrām or Karām, Kirrām or Kirām; the derivation of the name is disputed: as-Samʿānī, Ibn-al-Athīr and Ibn-Mākulā, connect the name with the occupation of karrām, 'vine-tender', while the chief theologian of the school in his time Ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ) and the poet Abū-ʿl-Faṭḥ al-Bustī ( III. X. 3 ) connect the name with the adjective 'noble' (pl.), kirām. The name Karrām is more likely since most of the biographers of the scholars wrote the name with (rr) and they are quoted by most of the recent writers, Ans., f.476b; Lub., III, 32; Ibn-Mākulā and Ibn-al-Hayḍam quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Nizān., IV, 21-22; al-Bustī verses quoted by ʿUtbi, at-Taʾrikh al-Yamīnī, II, 310; Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi taʾrikh-i Yamīnī, 254; References and more details about the derivation of the name given by Bosworth who prefers (r), "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", M W, L (1960), 5n.

expelled him on the ground that he was an 'innovator in religion', mubtadi'. He then preached his doctrine in Ghūr, Gharjistān and the rural areas of Khurasan. He finally arrived in Nishapur with a group of followers from Gharjistān. He opened a dairy in this city and it was there that he held his meetings with his followers. It is reported that he met in Nishapur the famous Shāfi'ite scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) and held several theological discussions with him. Then he was jailed for eight years by Muḥammad ibn-Ṭāhir ibn-'Abd-Allāh the governor of Khurasan (862-73). This happened probably because of his social and political activities in addition to his theological ideas.

After his release, he went to Syria and died there in a village called Zughar in 869 but his adherents carried his body to Jerusalem where he was buried. It is said that when he died his adherents, in Jerusalem alone, numbered over 20,000.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Karrām was an ascetic, a preacher and a theologian and before he had developed his own theological ideas he was a follower of Murji'ism. His own teachings were set out in a treatise entitled 'Adhāb al-qabr, from which quotations are

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1. Ans., ff. 476a-477b; Lub., III, 32-33; Wafī., IV, 375-377; Sa'īd Nafīsī notes to his edition of Bayhaqī's, Ta'rīkh-i-Mas'ūdi, II, 915-68; Mizān., IV, 21; Kāmil., VII, 149; cf. Bos., 185-186; Bosworth, "The rise of the Karrāmiyyah in Khurasan"; M W, L (1960), 5-6; Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 230-232; S E I, "Karrāmiya"; Margoliouth, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Karrāmiya".

given in 'Abd-al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī's ( III.T.5 ) work al-Farq bayna al-firaq, where there is the fullest account of the Karrāmīte sect with some of whose members the author held discussions. It is said that most of Ibn-Karrām's teachings were preserved in the writings of his pupil Ma'mūn ibn-Aḥmad as-Sulamī, but unfortunately none of these writings are now extant. However Ibn-Karrām's opponents alleged that he held the doctrine of 'anthropomorphism', tajsīm, tashbīh, to an extreme degree. Whatever the truth of this allegation he definitely played a considerable role in Islamic thinking in his time and his doctrine spread throughout Khurasan and Afghanistan, and reached as far as India. His school lasted about three centuries.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Shadh., II, 131; al-Baghdādī, al-Farq bayna al-firaq, 215-225; see also his doctrine which is given by Shahrastānī, Kitāb al-milal wa'n-niḥal, 79-85; see above, 73-75.



THE MYSTICS

'ABD-ALLĀH IBN-AL-MUBĀRAK, YAHYA IBN-MU'ĀDH AR-RĀZĪ,  
AL-ḤĀKIM AT-TIRMIDHĪ: THE MALĀMITES AND THE RISĀLA .  
OF THE MALĀMITES OF ABŪ-'ABD-AR-RAḤMĀN AS-SULAMĪ.

While the theory and practice of mysticism came to be important elements in Islamic religion, they were always regarded as being foreign infiltrations, but the precise history of their introduction into Islam is still obscure. Among the pre-Islamic religious doctrines were Judaism, Christianity, Buddhism and Zoroastrianism.<sup>1</sup> Of these, Christianity seems to have had some influence on the thinking and teaching of the early ascetic Muslims and to support this we must refer to al-Hujwīrī who reports that the celebrated traditionist and ascetic 'Abd- Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ) received instruction on mysticism from a Christian monk who taught him the way to God.<sup>2</sup> The ascetic and theologian Ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ) is said by al-Baghdādī to have been influenced in his theological teachings by Christianity, and the celebrated mystic al-Ḥākim at-Tirmidhī ( I. F. 7 ) gives a particular role to Jesus in his most famous work Khatm al-wilāya. However from our narrow study we cannot generalize about the influence of Christianity on the movement of

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1. Smith, Readings from the Mystics of Islam, 1-2; for general study of mysticism, see Massignon, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Taṣawwuf".

2. Kashf., 96-97.

mysticism in Islam.<sup>1</sup>

Mysticism came to be taught publicly in the ninth century and we have records that Abū-Zakariyyā Yaḥya ibn-Mu'adh ar-Rāzī ( I. F. 4 ), a disciple of Ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ) in mysticism, was the first in Islam to hold public discussions on mysticism in the mosque in Nishapur and to declare in poetry his love for God directly. He was one of the scholars who followed the Murji'ite doctrine and probably he studied it under his teacher Ibn-Karrām.<sup>2</sup>

It was also in the ninth century that there lived the celebrated philosopher and mystic of Khurasan al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī. After he had been expelled from his native town Tirmidh, because he was accused of being an innovator in religion, he went to Nishapur where he taught for some years. He wrote over 30 works, of which 17 are extant. According to Massignon he was the first Muslim mystic in whose writings we can detect the influence of Hellenistic philosophy. In his works Nawādir al-uṣūl and Khatm al-wilāya he attempts to

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1. Baghdadī, al-Farq bayna al-firaq, 216; for Christian influence in theology on Ibn-Karrām, see Sweetman, Islam and Christian Theology, index; Massignon remarks that at-Tirmidhī was influenced by the teachings of Ibn-Karrām and that he composed a book entitled 'Adhāb al-qabr which title is similar to that of Ibn-Karrām, Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 258, 263; ibid., E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Tirmidhī".
  2. I Kh., II, 224-225; Shadh., II, 131, 138; Kashf., 122-123: Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 238.

give a Sunni mystical exegesis of certain agnostic themes, which were, according to Massignon, developed later by the extremist Shī'ites. In his works 'Ilal al-'ubūdiyya, Sharh aṣ-ṣalāt and al-Ḥajj wa asrāruhu he tries to explain rationally the form of the canonical schools. He is credited with being the first author of a collection of biographies on the history of mysticism, but this work is only known from quotations. Massignon regards him as the true precursor of the Spanish scholar Ibn-al-'Arabī (d. 1151) who, three centuries later, studied his works carefully and admired him.<sup>1</sup>

It was during the ninth century that there was founded in Khurasan and particularly in Nishapur a mystic sect called al-Malāmiyya or al-Malāmatīyya and the adherents of this sect followed the "path of the blame", ṭarīqat al-malām. They incurred "blame" by concealing their good deeds, in order to avoid self-conceit.<sup>2</sup> The actual founder of the sect is still unknown but the earliest follower who lived in Nishapur was Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi (I. F. 3), who was the disciple of the famous mystic Ṭayfūr al-Bisṭāmī (d. 874).<sup>3</sup> The first chief of the Malāmites in Nishapur was Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār (I. F. 6) who was the disciple of Abū-Turab an-Nakhshabī,

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1. Kashf., 141; Massignon, E. I.<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Tirmidhī"; ibid., Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 256-259.

2. Kashf., 66; Subk., II, 190; Smith., E. I.<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār".

3. See below, (List No. I.D), 619.

and 'Alī an-Naṣrābādī and associated with Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ). He is regarded as the one who spread the Malāmīte doctrine in Nishapur. His followers formed a sect of mystics called after him the Qaṣṣārīte or the Ḥamdūnite.<sup>1</sup> One of his famous sayings about the Malāmītes is recorded by al-Hujwīrī and Abū-Nu'aym: he said "the Malāmīte is characterized by the hope of the Murjī'ites and the fear of the Qadarites".<sup>2</sup>

It might be worthwhile here to cast light on the earliest account of the principles of the Malāmītes as set forth in the Risāla of Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III.V.2 ), who probably learnt the Malāmīte teachings from his paternal uncle Ibn-Najīd ( II. N.11), who was himself a pupil of the Malāmīte mystic Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ).<sup>3</sup>

The following are some of the principles as stated by as-Sulamī in his work Risālat al-Malāmīyya:<sup>4</sup>

1. They regarded the illumination with the external 'divine service', 'ibādāt, as 'polytheism', shirk, and the illumination of an inwardly 'condition', ḥāl, as 'apostatism', irtidād.

2. They did not accept what was offered to them with 'nobility', 'izz, but they ate with humility because in humility there is nobility.

1. Naf., 90; Sulam., 114; Sha', I, 84; Smith, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār"

2. Kashf., 66; ; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', X, 231; cf. Amedroz, "Notes on some Sufi lives", J R A S, (1912), 562.

3. See below (List No. D), 620.

4. 'Afīfī "Risālat al-Malāmīyya", Fouad I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts (1942), 47-98; The Risāla is also published previously by Hartmann, "As-Sulamī Risālat al-Malāmīyya", Der Islam, VIII(1918), 157-203.

3. They believe in the fulfilment of duties and the renunciation of rights.

4. They like to deprive themselves of something by great self-control; they like even to be deprived of things by means of force.

5. They face the oppressor with self-control, patience, humility, apology and good deeds.

6. They distrust their own 'soul', nafs, in every condition.

7. There are four kinds of 'recollection', dhikr: recollection with the tongue, with the heart, with the conscience and with the spirit. If the recollection of the spirit is in order, the heart and the conscience become silent; that is the recollection of 'vision', mushāhada. If the recollection of the conscience is in order, the heart and the spirit become silent; that is the recollection of 'awe', hayba. If the recollection of the heart is in order, the tongue becomes silent; that is the recollection of 'mercy', rahma. And if the heart misses the recollection the tongue will start with it; that is the recollection of 'habit', āda.

8. They fight against the feelings of enjoyment of good deeds, since it contains deadly poison.

9. They are trained by one of the 'sect's leaders', a'imat al-qawm, and ask for his opinion in all situations, whether it be a question of science or condition.

10. Each kind of 'work', amal, and each kind of 'obedience', ṭā'a, which you have seen and which your soul takes delight in is vanity.

11. The human being has to be the enemy of his own selfish soul, which does not find satisfaction in any condition.

12. They avoid using theology in science with self-pride and they reject using it to display the secrets of God in front of people who are not worthy.

13. During the condition of 'ecstasy' samā', if it has its effect on a person, then his 'awe', hayba, 'movement', haraka, and screaming are hindered because of the completeness of his awe.

14. They give up the habit of changing clothes and try to be with the people as they are, outwardly, but to keep the soul in good order.

15. They do not occupy themselves with the errors of human beings, because of their occupation with the errors of their own souls, which imposes on them the duty of being cautious of harm, of examining their souls constantly and of working towards their own improvement.

16. Many troubles in worldly affairs are a sign of mischief and trust, silence and being content with the ways of destiny, are a sign of blissfulness.

17. They dislike it if someone serves them, puts them upon a pedestal and asks them for advice.

18. The human being should avoid his firāsa and the faithful one does not demand firāsa for himself.

19. This has been handed down to me (the author) from Abū-Ṣāliḥ (Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 )): "The faithful one would like to be a light in the night for his brother and a support for him during the day."

20. The saying of Abū-'Uthmān (al-Ḥirī ( II. N. 2 )) which he told about his teacher Abū-Ḥafṣ (al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 )), who said: "the one who has great knowledge, has few works, and the one who has many works, has small knowledge." Abū-'Uthmān continues "when I turned to Abū-Ḥafṣ for an explanation of the saying, he answered: "the one whose knowledge is great, regards his many works as small, because he knows that he has more to learn, and the one whose knowledge is small, regards his few works as great because he does not realise how much he has to learn and that he has made errors."

21. The samā' of the ear should not overpower the vision of the eye.

22. They ignore discussion of the particulars and subtle indications of the sciences and do not go deeply into them but return to the field of command and prohibition.

23. They must have 'trust in God', tawakkul.

24. They keep signs and miracles secret and look upon them as being misleading and remote from the path of truth.

25. They refrain from weeping whilst performing samā', the dhikr, the 'ilm etc., but keep the sadness, since that befits the body.

26. They renounce taking refuge with other people and demanding help from them, since they are demanding help from someone who is perhaps more needy and oppressed than they.

27. When they see that one of their 'prayers', du'a', has been heard, they are sad and worried and say that it is a ruse and a misleading path.

28. They accept life, if it is tied to humiliation and they refuse it, if concupiscence and the wickedness of nature are attached to it.

As-Sulamī's Risālā, however, is published and studied by Hartmann, who remarks that the Malāmites were influenced by the teaching of the Cynic philosophers, the Kalbiyyūn, and that in Europe it has been pointed out several times, that Cynicism seems to be revived in many forms of mysticism. 'Afīfī, who published the Risāla after Hartmann, noted that Cynicism did not influence the early Malāmite movement which was founded in the ninth century but it influenced another group of Malāmites who lived later and are known to have distorted the actual meaning of the Malāmites and followed principles which are quite contrary to the religious law. 'Afīfī probably meant the group of the Qalanduriyya who, according to as-suhrawardī, claimed that they were Malāmites but were in fact heretics and enemies of religion.<sup>1</sup>

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1. 'Afīfī, "Risālat al-Malāmatīyya" Fouad I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts; (1942) 50; Hartmann, "As-Sulamī Risālat al-Malāmatīja", Der Islam, VIII, (1918) 197-198 Suhrawardī, 'Awārif al-ma'ārif, 56.



## F

THE MYSTICS (700 - 900)

## F.1 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak

His name was as mentioned but he received the kunya Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. His father was Turkish but he himself was a 'client', mawlā, to the tribe of Ḥanzāla. He was born at Marw in 736. He seems to have spent most of his life in Khurasan in the cities of Marw and Nishapur. In the latter city he is said to have converted the Christian Abū-'Alī al-Māsarjīsī ( I. A. 11 ) to Islam. In 754 he left Khurasan and lived for a time in Baghdad where he became known as the scholar of Khurasan. While he was staying in Baghdad he became associated with the mystic community there. He left Baghdad and went to Mecca where he studied jurisprudence under Mālik ibn-Anas and learnt by heart his master's law book al-Muwatṭa'. When he returned to Marw, the inhabitants of that city held him in such high esteem that they endowed him with a place of assembly where he could give lectures on various subjects. At that time in Marw the inhabitants seem to have been evenly divided between those who were followers of tradition and those who followed the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence but they all with one accord acclaimed 'Abd-Allāh. In fact he seems to have been in agreement with both factions. His impartiality is illustrated by the fact that he built two

ribāṭs in the city, one for each faction. Subsequently he returned to Ḥijāz and settled in Mecca for a time before leaving to join the holy war, jihād, against the infidels. On his return from Ṭarsūs to Mecca he died in 797 at a town on the Euphrates river called Ḥīt.<sup>1</sup>

‘Abd-Allāh was regarded as one of the greatest shaykhs of his time. He was known throughout Khurasan as the divine scholar of Marw. He was regarded as having a comprehensive knowledge of traditions, jurisprudence, asceticism, literature, grammar, poetry and the study of the Qur’ān. He collected traditions in a treatise entitled al-Arba‘īn and also compiled a collection of traditions for legal uses entitled as-Sunan fi-’l-fiqh which became and remained a standard text for students of traditions for at least a century. Among the scholars who studied these works of his were al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) and Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). ‘Abd-Allāh also compiled a book on the interpretation of the Qur’ān called at-Tafsīr and a book in which he collected traditions concerning the holy war, entitled al-Jihād.<sup>2</sup>

‘Abd-Allāh was also renowned for his asceticism. We

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1. Kashf., 95-97; I. H., V, 382-387; Khaṭ., X, 152-162; T. Q., I, 466. Ibn-Sa‘d, at-Ṭabaqāt al-kabira VII, 114; Shadh., I, 295-296; I. Kh., I, 311; Munāwī, al-Kawākib ad-duriyya, I, 131-133; Ans., f. 179a; Lub., I, 324; Jaw., I, 281-282; Ibn-Ḥibbān, Mashāhīr ‘ulamā’ al-amṣār., 194-195; Sha‘., I, 77-9. Abū-Nu‘aym, Hilyat al-awliya’., VIII, 192-190.
  2. H. Kh., I, 57; II, 911, 1410, 1422; Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist., 319;

already mentioned the commencement of his interest in mysticism in Baghdad and already he had developed his knowledge of it during his travels, in which he met many mystical directors, among whom was a Christian monk from whom he received mystical disciplines. He is also credited with being the first Muslim writer to write down the principles of asceticism which he set out in his work az-Zuhd wa'r-raqā'iq. This book, together with his other book al-Jihād, is now extant.<sup>1</sup>

## F.2 Fāṭima an-Naysābūriyya

She was a native of Nishapur. During her stay in the city she was visited by the famous mystic Abū-Yazīd Ṭayfur al-Bisṭāmī. She went to Jerusalem where she met Dhū-'n-nūn al-Miṣrī and she taught him the mystic way of life. Then she went to Mecca where she lived the rest of her life and died in 837.<sup>2</sup>

## F.3 Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Khaḍrawayhi (or Khaḍrūya). He received the kunya Abū-Ḥamid. He was a native of

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1. Kashf., 96-97; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 32-33;  
G A L S, I, 256.
  2. Sha'., I, 66; Munāwī, al-Kawākib ad-duriyya., I, 260.

Balkh and was the first to adopt the path of 'the blame', malāmat. His wife was Fāṭima, the daughter of the governor of Balkh, and she was also renowned as a mystic. Then Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi and his wife came to live in Nishapur. He is said to have studied mysticism in his native place Balkh under Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ḥatim al-Aṣamm and Abū-Turāb 'Askar ibn-al-Ḥusayn an-Nakhshabī. It is also said that he went to Bisṭām and received there mystical instructions from Abū-Yazīd Ṭayfur-al-Bisṭāmī. Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi was well known in Nishapur because of the generosity he showed in holding many banquets for the scholars who visited the city. As a mystic he is credited with many lofty sayings which are mentioned in Kashf al-maḥjūb of al-Hujwiri. He was also the author of many works in every branch of ethics and of mysticism, none of which have been named or have survived. He died in Nishapur in 854.<sup>1</sup>

#### F.4 Yahya ar-Rāzī

His name was Yahya ibn-Mu'adh ibn-Ja'far. His kunya was Abū-Zakariyyā. He was a native of Rayy. He had two brothers; the name of the elder was Ismā'il and of the younger, Ibrāhīm. After having contracted many debts at Rayy he set out with his brother Ibrāhīm for Khurasan. He came to Balkh

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1. Kashf., 119-122; Sulam., 93; Sha'., I, 82; Naf., 54.

and the people of that city detained him for some time in order that he might give lectures to them, and they gave him 100,000 dirhams. On his way back to Rayy he was attacked by brigands, who seized the whole sum. Afterwards he left Rayy for Nishapur where he probably received instruction in mysticism from Ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ) and followed his master's belief that mysticism is only one of the aspects of the religious life. It is related that Yahya visited Baghdad at an unspecified date and gave discourses to the mystics of that city. He died in Nishapur in 871.

Yahya was a Muslim thinker and a mystic. He held the doctrine of 'hope', raja', in God. Al-Hujwiri writes that Husri says "God had two Yahyas, one a prophet and the other a saint. Yahya b. Zakariyya trod the path of fear so that all Pretenders were filled with fear and despaired of their salvation, while Yahya b. Mu'adh trod the path of hope so that he tied the hands of all pretenders to hope". Yahya was the first to give public lectures on mysticism and one of the first to declare directly his love to God.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Kashf., 122-123; Sha'., I, 81; Sulam., 98; Muntazam., v<sup>2</sup>, 16-17; Shadh., II, 138; Khat., XIV, 208-212; I Kh., II, 224-225; Naf., 55; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliya', X, 51-70; Munawi, al-Kawakib ad-durriyya, I, 272-273; a brief note given by Mustawfi, Ta'rikh-i guzida, I, f. 771. Quotations of Yahya's sayings are given by Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 238-242, and Smith, Readings from the mystics, 25.

## F.5 Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād

His name was 'Umar ibn-Sālim.<sup>1</sup> He was born in the village of Kūradbādh, which was situated at the northern gate of the city of Nishapur. He was a blacksmith haddād until he went to Bāward and took the vows of discipleship to Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Bāwardī. He returned to Nishapur but was unable to continue his trade because of an accident which happened to him in his workshop. It is said that he was associated in Nishapur with the mystic, Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi ( I. F. 3 ), and probably from him he received instructions on the Malāmite path. He also consorted for a while with Abū-Shujā' al-Kirmānī ( II. N. 1 ) during the latter's visit to Nishapur with his disciple Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī (II. N. 2). On his departure for his native place Kirmān, Shāh-Shajā' left the young Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī in the care of Abū-Ḥafṣ who taught the young devoted student the principles of mysticism. It is said that Abū-Ḥafṣ visited Baghdad with his disciples, although he never spoke Arabic in Nishapur, although when he met the mystics of Baghdad, including al-Junayd, in the Shūnīziyya Mosque, he conversed with them in elegant Arabic which surprised both his disciples and the mystics of Baghdad. Abū-Ḥafṣ died in Nishapur in 883.<sup>2</sup>

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1. or 'Amr ibn-Maslama al-Ḥaddādī. Kashf, 123; Khaṭ., XII, 220.
  2. Kashf, 123-125, 132-133; Khaṭ., XII, 221-222; Sha', I, 82; Sulam, 105; Ans., f. 158a; Lub., I, 282-283; Naf., 57; Munawī, al-Kawākib ad-durriyya, I, 257-259; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliya', X, 229-230; a brief note given by Mustawfī, Ta'rikh-i guzida, I, f. 772; cf. Hartmann, "As-Sulamī's Risalat al-Malāmatīja", Der Islam, VIII (1918), 189-190.

## F.6      Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār

His name was Ḥamdūn ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Umāra, with the kunya Abū-Ṣāliḥ. He was a native of Nishapur. He received the nisba 'the fuller' al-Qaṣṣār, which was probably his occupation. He was a follower of Sufyān ath-Thawrī in jurisprudence and divinity. In mysticism he was the disciple of Abū-Turāb an-Nakhshabī, 'Alī an-Naṣrābādī and associated with Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī (II. K. 6). He died in Nishapur in 884 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥīra.

Al-Qaṣṣār was the chief of the Malāmīte mystic sect in Nishapur. His biographers attribute to him the spread of the sect's doctrine in that city. Many of his fine sayings regarding the Malāmīte teachings are recorded by al-Hujwīrī, Abū-Nu'aym and Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (III. V. 2). Al-Qaṣṣār's influence among the mystics of Nishapur was so great that his followers formed a mystic sect called after him the Qaṣṣārīte or the Ḥamdūnite.<sup>1</sup>

## F. 7      Al-Ḥākim at-Tirmidhī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Bishr. He received the kunya Abū-'Abd-Allāh. The inhabitants of

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1. Kashf., 66, 125-126; Naf., 90; Sulam., 114; Sha'., I, 84; Munāwī, al-Kawākib ad-durriyya, I, 220-221; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā', X, 231-232; cf. Smith, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār"; Amedroz, "Notes on some Sufi lives", J R A S, (1912), 562; Hartmann, "As-Sulamī Risālat al-Malāmātīja", VIII, Der Islam, (1918), 190; see above, 95-96.

Tirmidh called him al-Ḥakīm and the Ḥakīmites, a mystic sect in that region, were his followers. He was expelled from Tirmidh because he was accused of being an 'innovator in religion', mubtadi'. He went to Balkh for a time before coming in 895 to Nishapur, where he taught traditions. He died in 898.

At-Tirmidhī was a mystic, theologian, philosopher and jurist of the Ḥanafite school. He studied jurisprudence with the intimate friend of Abū-Ḥanīfa and was associated probably in Tirmidh with the Shī'ite Imām al-Khiḍr. His disciple Abū-Bakr al-Warrāq related that al-Khiḍr used to visit at-Tirmidhī every Sunday, and that they conversed with each other.<sup>1</sup>

At-Tirmidhī was a voluminous writer. His style in his extant work is, according to Massignon, somewhat prolix but the works are very fully documented.<sup>2</sup> The following is a list of his works which is given by Brockelmann.

1. Khatm al-wilāya (al-awliya'), which is lost except for the table of chapters which is extant. According to Massignon it is at-Tirmidhī's fundamental book, and Ibn-al-'Arabī meditated over and used it a long time later.
2. 'Ilal al-'ubūdiyya, which is extant.
3. Kitāb al-akyās wa'l-mughtarrīn, which is extant.
4. Riyādat an-nafs, which is extant.
5. Jamāl kitāb ('Uthmān ibn-Sa'id) min Rayy, which is extant.

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1. Kashf., 141-42, 210; Sha'., I, 91; Miftah., II, 53; Tadh., II, 197; Subk., II, 20; Naf., 118.

2. Massignon, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Tirmidhī".



6. Bayān al-kasb, which is extant.
7. Masā'il, which is lost.
8. Ādāb al-murīdīn, which is lost.
9. Kitāb at-tawhīd, which is lost.
10. 'Adhāb al-qabr, which is lost.
11. Ad-Durr al-maknūn fī as'ilat mā kān wamā yakūn, which is extant.
12. Nawādir al-uṣul, which is extant.
13. Kitāb al-furūq, which is extant.
14. Kitāb an-nahj, which is lost.
15. Tafsīr, (a commentary of the Qur'an) which is lost.
16. Ta'rīkh al-mashā'ikh, which is lost.
17. Sharḥ aṣ-ṣalāt, which is extant.
18. Al-Ḥaqq wa asrāruh, which is extant.
19. Al-Ikhtiyārāt, which is lost.
20. Al-Jumal al-lāzim ma'rifathā, which is lost.
21. 'Arsh al-muwahhīdīn, which is lost.
22. Al-A'ḍā' wa'n-nafs., which is lost.
23. Manāzil al-'ibād wa'l-'ibāda, which is extant.
24. al-'Aql wa'l-hawā, which is extant.
25. Al-Munhiyāt, which is extant.
26. Al-Amthāl min al-kitāb wa's-sunna, which is extant.
27. Adab an-nafs, which is extant.
28. Ghawr al-umūr, which is lost.
29. Ad'iyya wa 'aza'im, which is extant.

30. Kitāb al-‘ulūm, which is lost.
31. Rasā’il-i Ḥākim-i Tirmidh-i, which is extant.
32. Sharḥ su’alāt fi’t-ta‘bīrāt al-ilāhiyya, which is extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. GALS, I, 355-357; See also the list of his works from No.1 to No.15 given by Massignon, Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane, 257-258.

## VI

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀNTHE EARLIEST READERS AND COMMENTATORS IN NISHAPUR:  
BUKAYR AN-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, IBN-ABĪ-'AMR AN-NAYSĀBŪRĪ AND  
ABŪ-'L-HASAN AS-SA'DĪ.

The Qur'ān, on which the whole Muslim system of jurisprudence was largely based, was a subject of careful study and research by Muslim scholars. The study of the Qur'ān was later differentiated into two branches. These were the science of reading and the science of interpretation.

In 651, the Caliph 'Uthmān laid down a single authoritative text which was to remain the final and standard recension of the Qur'ān. This has come down to us and its authenticity is above suspicion. But in spite of 'Uthmān's single copy, the Qur'ān continued to be read in different ways and differing schools were founded in the main cities of the Empire; at Mecca, Medina, Baṣra and Kūfa. In these the art of reading the Qur'ān was transmitted by oral tradition in different ways. These differences affect certain of the words in it and the manner in which the words were pronounced. Each was related to the authority of some great name from which its teachings had come down.<sup>1</sup>

These different ways of reading, then, were set down in writing. Huart remarks that as early as the middle of the eighth century, Ya'qūb al-Ḥaḍramī compiled a work on the various ways of reading. Of all the works which are mentioned,

1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Maqaddima, 366; A L, 254. for references on the Qur'ān and its studies see Buhl, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Koran".

none, however, survived; neither did the compilation by the famous historian at-Ṭabarī, nor the summary of the seven schools of readers given by Abū-Bakr ibn-Mujāhid. But in the tenth-century works compiled by Ibn-Khāqān (d. 927) and Ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ) have survived.<sup>1</sup>

As far as the period(700-900)is concerned,Nishapur produced few scholars and their importance in the field of the reading of the Qur'an is small.We know that Ibn-Abī-'Amr an-Naysābūrī (I.G.1), was a native of Nishapur of Arabian origin, who lived in the ninth century and who read the Qur'an under the famous philologist of Kūfa, al-Kisā'ī (d.805).<sup>2</sup> We read about the scholar Abū-'Alī an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 1 ), who was also known to have read the Qur'an under al-Kisā'ī, but he was primarily specialized as a traditionist.<sup>3</sup> We also read that the Shāfi'ite jurist Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ),who is mentioned above as a pupil of Abū-'Ubayda, became renowned as a jurist and a reader of the Qur'an. He is reputed to be the one who taught Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) jurisprudence.<sup>4</sup>

More important to the Muslim scholar was the interpretation of the text of the Qur'an. At an early date the Companions and later the Successors were endlessly questioned as to the meaning of the unclear verses, which are very numerous in the Qur'an, This is sometimes on account of the stylistic form and sometimes owing to the use of words

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1. T Q , I, 139; A L , 255; see below, 237.

2. I H , VIII, 35; See below (List No. I. E), 622.

3. Shadh., II, 6; I H , II, 374.

4. Subk., I, 287; I H , I, 85-86, see below, (List No.I.B),609; see above, 70.

belonging to the Qurayshite dialect in which the Qur'ān is said to have been revealed and which Arabs from other tribes either misunderstood or did not understand at all.<sup>1</sup>

Several works on the interpretation of the Qur'ān were written in the eighth century, but the most famous is the extant work of at-Ṭabarī, which was composed in the ninth century.<sup>2</sup> As far as Nishapur is concerned, we read about Bukhayr ibn-Ma'rūf an-Naysābūrī (I. G. 1) who was the pupil of Muqātil ibn-Ḥayyān and the qādī of Nishapur, and who, according to Ibn-Ḥajar, was the author of Tafsīr. Also we read about Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sa'dī ( I. G. 3 ), who was a man from Marw and who resided during the latter period of his life in Nishapur; he is also reported by Ibn-Ḥajar to be the author of an interpretation of the Qur'ān entitled Aḥkām al-Qur'ān.<sup>3</sup> We have already had occasion to mention interpretative works of the traditionist and ascetic 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ), the Ḥanafite jurist and traditionist Ibn-Ṭahmān ( I. B. 1 ) the Shāfi'ite jurist Ibn-Rāhāya ( I. C. 1 ) and the famous mystic al-Ḥakīm at-Tirmidhī ( I. F. 7 ). However, none of the works of these Nishapurians are extant. We must come down to the tenth century when scholars such as Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ ( II. J. 16 ) and Ibn-al-Mundhir ( II. K. 3 ), who connected their lives with Nishapur, wrote works which have come down to us, together with famous works which were written later by al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ) and ath-Tha'labī ( III. W. 2 ).<sup>4</sup>

1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 367-368; A L, 255-256.

2. Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 145. A L., 256.

3. I H, III, 35; see below, (List No. I.E), 622.

4. See below, 237-238, 420.

## G

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN  
(700-900)

G.1 Bukayr an-Naysābūrī

His name was Bukayr ibn-Ma'rūf. He received the kunya of Abū-Mu'ādh or Abū-'l-Ḥasan. He was probably from Dāmghān, but he lived a considerable period of his life in Nishapur where he occupied the post of qāḍī of the city. Then he came to Damascus where he died in 779. Bukayr was educated in Iraq and studied traditions under Yahya ibn-Sa'id al-Anṣārī, Abū-'l-Zubayr and others. He was known as the disciple of Muqātil ibn-Ḥayyān. He is said to have composed an interpretation of the Qur'ān entitled at-Tafsīr which is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

G.2 Ibn-Abī-'Amr an-Naysābūrī

His name was 'Amr ibn-Zurāra ibn-Wāqid. He received the kunya Abū-Muḥammad and was a native of Nishapur belonging to the Arabian tribe of Banū-Kalb. He travelled through Iraq and Ḥijāz in pursuit of learning traditions. He learned from eminent masters of those countries, amongst them Abū-Bakr ibn-'Ayyāsh, Marwān ibn-Mu'āwiya, Hushaym, al-Qāsim ibn-Mālik al-

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1. I H, I, 490; T N, 15; Mizān., I, 351.

Muzanī, Abū-'Ubayda al-Ḥaddād, Ziyād al-Bakkā'ī and Sufyān ibn-'Uyayna. He came to Kūfa where he read the Qur'ān under the famous scholar al-Kisā'ī. In Nishapur he was highly esteemed as a reliable traditionist and a reader of the Qur'ān. It is said that traditions were related on his authority in the works of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), Muslim ( I. A. 28 ), an-Nasā'ī, Aḥmad ibn-Sayyār al-Marwazī, Aḥmad ibn-Salama ( I. A. 34 ), al-Ḥusayn al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ) Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) and al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). He died in 852.<sup>1</sup>

### G.3 Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sa'dī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Ḥajar ibn-Iyās. His nisba as-Sa'dī indicates that he was of Arabian descent. He was born in Marw which he later left and went to live in Baghdad for a time, learning traditions there from Sharīk, Hushaym and Ibn-al-Mubārak (I. F. 1). He later moved to Nishapur where he died in 358. As-Sa'dī was acclaimed by later writers as a great ḥafīẓ and was renowned as an authority on the Qur'ānic text, traditions, literature and poetry. He wrote many books but his main work was Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, which has been lost. He was an authority on traditions; it is said that traditions were related to his authority in the works of Abū-Dāwūd, Ibn-Māja, Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) and al-Ḥasan ibn-Sufyān.<sup>2</sup>

1. I H , VIII, 35; Shadh., II, 90; T N , 28; Lub., I, 498; Ans., f.272b.

2. Tadh., II, 33-34; Shadh., II, 105; for the nisba "as-Sa'dī", see Lub. I. 513. Ans. f.298a.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS

THE ACTIVITIES OF POETS AND MEN OF LETTERS IN BAGHDAD IN  
NISHAPUR: ABŪ-TAMMĀM, ABŪ-'L-'AMAYTHAL AL-A'RĀBĪ, ABŪ-SA'ĪD  
AD-ḌARĪR, ABŪ-'L-MINHĀL AL-MUHALLABĪ AND ABŪ-'L-MINHĀL  
AL-KHUZĀ'Ī.

It is generally known that men of letters, and particularly poets, made their living by connecting their fortunes with the court of the caliphs and the governors, and with the establishment of the Ṭāhirid dynasty in Khurasan and its capital in Nishapur, many scholars and court poets of Baghdad were attracted by the fame of the new governors of Khurasan. Of these the most important can be singled out for special notice on account of their activities in the field of Arabic literature, adab, whether in verse or prose; they were Abū-Tammām ( I. H. 1 ), Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rābī ( I. H. 2 ), Abū-Sa'īd aḍ-Ḍarīr ( I. H. 3 ), Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Muhallabī ( I. H. 4 ) and Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Khuzā'ī ( I. H. 5 ).

Abū-Tammām was a distinguished poet, who flourished and became famous in the court of the Caliph al-Mu'taṣim. His visit to Nishapur was at the end of his life. He was disappointed by the cold reception he had received from the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir and from the learned men of his court. At-Tibrīzī remarks on the treatment which Abū-Tammām received in Nishapur from the scholars Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rābī and Abū-Sa'īd aḍ-Ḍarīr, who were in charge of the governor's library and also in charge of testing the qaṣīdas



which were presented by the poets in order to be sung in the presence of the governor. But when Abū-Tammām presented his poem, it was rejected by Abū-'l-'Amaythal who classified it among the ordinary poems, and even cast it among the 'neglected', manbūdh, poems. Therefore Abū-Tammām failed at first to obtain an audience in the court of the governor. However, he later succeeded and sang poems praising the governor: one of them mīmiyya complained to the governor about the incident which took place between him and Abū-'l-'Amaythal. However, the governor was not generous in rewarding him, and either for this reason, or because of the cold winter of Nishapur, he left the city and later lampooned the governor.<sup>1</sup>

However, Abū-Tammām was noted as an author of anthological works which he compiled in Hamadān. The most important of the six anthologies he composed was the Ḥamāsa, which has come down to us. The work is divided into ten chapters which bear the following titles:<sup>2</sup>

1. 'The Chapter of Fortitude' (Bābu'l-ḥamāsa).
2. 'The Chapter of Dirges' (Bābu'l-marāthī).
3. 'The Chapter of Good Manners' (Bābu'l-adab).
4. 'The Chapter of Love-Songs' (Bābu'l-nasīb).

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1. Tabrīzī, Sharḥ diwān Abū-Tammām, I, 244-255; Ṣulī, Akhbār Abū-Tammām, 211-226; cf. Ritter, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abū Tammām".

2. The work is divided into ten chapters according to Freytag's edition and the titles are quoted by Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 129-130.

5. 'The Chapter of Satire' (Bābu'l-hijā).
6. 'The Chapter of Guests and Panegyric' (Bābu'l-aḍyāf wa'l-madiḥ).
7. 'The Chapter of Description' (Bābu'l-ṣifāt).
8. 'The Chapter of Travel and Repose' (Bābu'l-sayr wa'l-nu'ās).
9. 'The Chapter of Facetiae' (Bābu'l-mulāḥ).
10. 'The Chapter of Vituperation of Women' (Bābu'l-madḥammātī'n-nisā').

Commentaries were written on Abū-Tammām's Ḥamāsa by many scholars; among them at-Tabrīzī, who also made a commentary on Abū-Tammām's Dīwān. Other commentaries, no longer extant, were written by Nishapurians in the eleventh century, including the commentaries of Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Harawī ( III. X. 4 ), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shāmātī ( III. X. 19 ), and, in the twelfth century, the commentary of Abū-'Alī at-Ṭabarsī ( IV. EE. 9 ).

The above-mentioned contemporary of Abū-Tammām, Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rābī, was an eloquent, able poet and a man of letters. He was educated in the Arabian desert with the Bedouins and became the favourite poet of the founder of the Ṭāhirid dynasty, Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn, inheriting the same favour from the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir. He was the author of several works in verse and prose and we possess at the present day his book on rhetoric, ma'ānī, which is one of

the earliest Arabic prose works written in Khurasan on this subject.<sup>1</sup>

A pupil of Abū-'l-'Amaythal was Abū-Sa'īd aḍ-Ḍarīr. He was sent to Nishapur with other scholars by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, on the request of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir. He became noted as the transmitter of the poet 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-A'rābī. We have already mentioned that 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir put him in charge of his library and he also presided over the assemblies of literature which were held in 'Abd-Allāh's court. Aḍ-Ḍarīr was the author of two works; one was a collection of poetry called al-Abyāt, the other a critique on the work of Abū-Ubayd's Gharīb al-ḥadīth.<sup>2</sup>

Also from Baghdad came Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Muhallabī, a pupil of al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad (d. 791), the author of the first Arabic lexicon al-'Ayn. He was tutor in philology to the governor Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn and obtained the governor's favour and respect. This favour continued during the reign of the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir. However he wrote many works in the field of Arabic literature but none of them has come down to us and only the title of five of them are named by Yāqūt.<sup>3</sup>

Contemporary with Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Muhallabī was Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Khuzā'ī, a poet from Ḥarrān, who connected his

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1. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 72-73; Abū-'l-'Amaythal, al-Kitāb al-ma'thur.

2. Irsh., I, 118-119; Aṣ-Ṣafadī, Nakt al-himyan, 69-98; see below, (List No.I.F) 624.

3. cf. 126.

fortunes first with the court of al-Ma'mūn in Baghdad then with that of al-Ḥusayn ibn-Ṭāhir of Khurasan. He stayed thirty years in Nishapur but latterly he was on bad terms with the new governor, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir, whom he praised at first but whom, when he left Nishapur on his way back to Ḥarrān, he lampooned. Ibn-'Imād says that al-Khuẓā'ī was "in verse comparable to al-Mutannabī but less ambitious".<sup>1</sup>

It must be remembered here that in the field of literature of different kinds Muslim writers of this period (700-900) wrote their works in Arabic. The Ṭāhirids seem to have discouraged the use of the Persian language, probably for religious reasons. For instance, Dawlatshāh reports that one day in Nishapur an old Persian book was presented to the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir: the book contained 'the Romance of Wāmiq and 'Adhra', composed by wise men and dedicated to the King Nushirwān (d. 579). But the governor ordered it to be destroyed, saying that "the Qur'ān and the traditions ought to be sufficient for good men" and adding: "this book was written by Magians and is accursed in our eyes".<sup>2</sup>

However, Persian literature really began to flourish under the Sāmānids, while in the period of their successors, the Ghaznavids, it might be said to have attained its full development, if not its zenith.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Shadh., II, 32; Irsh., VI, 95-98.

2. Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 35; L H P., I, 12, 347-348; II, 275.

3. See below, 130-131, 429; cf. L H P., II, 90-165.

## H

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS (700-900)

## H.1 Abū-Tammām

His name was Ḥabīb ibn-Aws ibn-al-Ḥarath ibn-Qays ibn-al-Ashajj ibn-Yahya ibn-Marwān ibn-Murraibn-Sa'd ibn-Kāhil ibn-'Amr ibn-'Adī ibn-'Amr ibn-al-Ghawth ibn-Ṭayy'. He was a native of Syria, born in either 804 or 806 in the town of Jāsīm, between Damascus and Ṭiberias. He was the son of a Christian named Tadūs (Thaddeus), for which name the son, when he became a Muslim, substituted the Arabic Aws, and attached for himself the nisba of the Ṭayy'ite tribe. He was a great traveller. In his youth he was in Damascus where his father kept a wine-shop, and he worked as a weaver's assistant. Thence he went to Ḥims, where the poet al-Buḥturī (d. 908) met him. Subsequently Abū-Tammām went to Egypt where he lived at first by selling water in the Great Mosque and where he found an opportunity to study Arabic poetry and its rules. It was most probably in Egypt that Abū-Tammām established his reputation as a poet and where he composed his first poem about the tax-collector 'Ayyāsh ibn-Lahī'a. From Egypt he returned to Syria, expecting to be admitted to the court of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn, to await on him, but the Caliph disliked the Bedouin style of poem which he offered him and refused to grant him an audience. He went to Mawṣil and from thence he travelled into Armenia, where rich gifts from the governor, Khālīd ibn-Yazīd, awaited him. On the death of al-Ma'mūn, he came to

Baghdad where he was received and favoured by al-Mu'taṣim, and met with great success at his court. At this stage of his life Abū-Tammām rose to fame and even the Caliph took him as a companion on his famous expedition against Amorium in the year 838. Abū-Tammām also enjoyed the favour of al-Mu'taṣim's son, Aḥmad, and his son and successor al-Wāthiq and other eminent men, to whom he dedicated many of his poems. The increasing fame of the governor of Khurasan 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir attracted the poet. He came to Nishapur but 'Abd-Allāh did not come up to his expectation in rewarding him. Also, the cold climate did not suit Abū-Tammām. On his return from Nishapur he was delayed at Hamadān by a snowstorm; he made the acquaintance of the learned Abū-'l-Wafā' ibn-Salama, who gave him the freedom of his library and the poet made good use of his time by composing the most celebrated of his anthologies, the Ḥamāsa. Some two years before his death the governor of Mawṣil, Ḥasan ibn-Wahb, found him the post-mastership of the city which was a most confidential position. He died in this town, about 846.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Tammām was one of the best poets of the court. He is said to have surpassed his contemporaries in purity of style, in the intrinsic merit of his work, and in the excellence of the way in which he treats a subject. His Dīwān contains some devotional poems, besides the encomiums on the poet's various patrons, laments on their deaths and

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1. Ṣulī, Akhbār Abū-Tammām, 66, 105, 121, 231-2, 235-8, 246, 272-3; Shadh., II, 72-74; I Kh., I, 150-153; Ans., f.365a; Lub., II, 78; Ibn-al-Anbārī, Nuzhat al-albāb, 107-109; Iṣfahānī, al-Aghānī, XVI, 383-399.

satires on his enemies, but the most important are the poems which are of historical interest, such as the ones which describe the campaign against Amorium, the defeat and execution of Bābak the Khurramite, and the execution of the general al-Afshīn. The Dīwān was arranged in alphabetical order by aṣ-Ṣulī, and afterwards arranged in order of subjects by 'Alī-ibn-Ḥamza al-Iṣbahānī; it was also handed down to us by as-Sukkari and others. Abū-Tammām made a great study of the older poets and this enabled him to collect and compose six anthologies:

1. Ikhtiyār qabā'ilī (The Greater), selections of verses from tribal days.

2. Ikhtiyār qabā'ilī, selections of verses of tribal days from little known poets.

3. Ikhtiyār shu'arā' al-fuhūl. Selection of verses from Master poets of pre-Islamic and Islamic time.

4. Al-Ḥamāsa, which he composed when he was at Hamadān. It is in ten sections and it deals with a great number of poets and poetical works from pre-Islamic down to 'Abbasid times. A similar collection of the Ḥamāsa poems was also made by Abū-Tammām's contemporary, al-Buḥturī who was also a court poet, but it is inferior to that of Abū-Tammām.

5. Ikhtiyār al-muqaṭṭa'āt, which consists of a selection of love poems.

6. Selections from modern poets.

Of these anthologies only No.4 the Ḥamāsa is extant.<sup>1</sup>

1. Margoliouth, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Abu Tammam";

AL, 88-89; Ritter, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abū Tammām"; Nicholson,

A literary history of the Arabs, 129-130; G A L, I, 83-84;

G A L S, I. 134-137. Ritter, "Philologika XIII. Arabische

Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul", Oriens, II (1949), 266-269

## H.2      Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rābī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Khulayd (Khālīd) ibn-Sa'd. He was of Persian descent but was related to the house of the Prophet as a mawlā to Ja'far ibn-Sulaymān ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-'Abbās ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib. He was a native of Rayy, known by his laqab al-A'rābī because he lived and was educated among the desert Arabs. He connected his fortunes with the Ṭāhirī princes of Khurasan. At first he lived in the court of the prince Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn in Marw, then he became attached to the court of the prince's son 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir, in Nishapur. He died in 854, ten years after the death of his benefactor 'Abd-Allāh (c. 844).<sup>1</sup>

Abū-'l-'Amaythal was a poet and a man of letters. He wrote an excellent work on Arabic literature, adab, which is extant under the title al-Kitāb al-ma'thūr. Of his works which are mentioned in the al-Fihrist of Ibn-an-Nadīm, that is to say, 1. at-Tashābuh, 2. al-Abyāt as-sā'ira, and 3. Ma'ānī ash-shi'r, none are extant.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ibn-an-Nadīm, al-Fihrist, 72-73.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 73; G. A. L. S., I, 105;  
Abū-'l-'Amaythal, al-Kitāb al-ma'thūr, 5-8.



## H.3      Abū-Sa'īd aḍ-Ḍarīr

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Khālīd. He was called aḍ-Ḍarīr because he was blind. He was a wealthy man from Baghdad and one of the regular attendants at the court of the Caliph al-Ma'mūn. When 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir became governor of Khurasan, the Caliph awarded him with a number of learned men; among them was aḍ-Ḍarīr. When the latter came to Nishapur he started his education in literature in the court of 'Abd-Allāh. He took lessons from Abū-'l-'Amaythal ( I. H. 2      ), 'Arrām, Abū-'l-'Aysajūr, Abū-'l-'Ajīs, 'Awsaja, Abū-'l-'Uthāfir and others. He became noted as the transmitter of the poet 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-A'rābī and became the most distinguished literary man in the court of 'Abd-Allāh, specially in conducting the discussions and disputations which sometimes arose in that court. He died in Nishapur in 895 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥusayn.

Aḍ-Ḍarīr was the author of a collection of poems called simply al-Abyāt. He also composed a critique of Abū-'Ubayd's ( d. 837      ) work Gharīb-al-ḥadīth which was entitled Ar-Radd 'alā Abū-'Ubayd fī gharīb al-ḥadīth. Neither of aḍ-Ḍarīr's works are now extant.<sup>1</sup>

## H.4      Abū-'l-al-Minhāl al-Muhallabī

His name was 'Uyayna ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. His nisba al-Muhallabī was derived from the name of the governor of

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1. Safadī, Nakt al-himyan., 96-98; Irsh., I, 118-123.

Khurasan al-Muhallab Ibn-Abī-Şufra. Abū-'l-Minhāl was born in Baghdad. He studied philology under the great philologist al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad, the author of the book al-'Ayn. When Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn became governor of Khurasan in 820, he took Abū-'l-Minhāl with him to Khurasan as the governor's own tutor in philology. During the reign of 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir (reg. 828-844) he was highly respected and held in honour in his court at Nishapur. He died during the reign of 'Abd-Allāh in Nishapur.

Abū-'l-Minhāl was the author of many literary works. The following are named by Yāqūt:

1. Kitāb fi 'l-shi'r
2. Kitāb an-nawādī
3. Kitāb al-Azd
4. Al-Anşār
5. Kitāb li-Işḥāq fi'l-Qur'an.

None of his works are now extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### H.5 Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Khuza'ī

His name was 'Awf ibn-Muḥallim. He was a poet from Syria and a native of Ḥarrān of Arabian origin, a descendant of the tribe of Khuza'a. At first, he was a court poet, connecting his fortunes with the Caliph al-Mu'mun, in whose court he met the general Ṭāhir ibn-al-Ḥusayn. When the

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1. Irsh., VI, 111-112; for the nisba "al-Muhallabī", see Lub., III, 195; Ans., f.546a.

latter was granted the governorship of Khurasan he took the poet with him. The poet stayed 30 years in Nishapur as a boon-companion to Ṭāhir and his son 'Abd-Allāh. At first he eulogized 'Abd-Allāh but when he did not come up to his expectation in rewarding him, he returned to Ḥarrān where he died while 'Abd-Allāh was still a governor.

Al-Khuẓā'ī was a stylistic poet and a man of letters. His poems dealt mainly with devotional subjects or were encomiums of the poet's patrons the Ṭāhirids. Yāqūt and Ibn-ʿImād preserve for us a specimen of his poems.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Irsh., VI, 95-98; Shadh., II, 31-32; For the nisba "al-Khuẓā'ī", see Lub., I, 360-361; Ans., f.197.

PART TWO

THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR WHO DIED BETWEEN  
900 - 1000.

# HISTORICAL INTRODUCTORY NOTE

## THE ṢAFFĀRIDS: THE SĀMĀNID PATRONS OF LEARNING

In the later decades of the ninth century, Khurasan and its capital, Nishapur, fell into the hands of the Ṣaffārids, a dynasty which originated in Sijistān and which was to reign in Khurasan for thirty years (873-903). The founder of the dynasty was a military commander called Ya'qūb ibn-al-Layth aṣ-Ṣaffār (Reg. 868-878), who was a Kharajite sympathiser. When he captured Nishapur in 873, he met with little resistance from the Ṭāhirid forces and from the minority community of the 'Alids in the city. He is reported to have captured the 'Alid leader Al-Ḥusayn ibn-Ibrāhīm and to have imprisoned him. He is also known to have plundered houses and burnt down palaces when he had taken Nishapur. His successor, 'Amr ibn-al-layth (reg. 878-900) followed a contrary policy, for the building of the Friday Mosque and the governor's palace, Dār al-Imāra, is attributed to him.<sup>1</sup> 'Amr employed some scholars who served his government. Among these scholars was Abū-Iṣḥāq al-Mughaythī (III.P. 6), who served

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1. Ya'qūbī, Kitāb al-buldān, 91-92; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār., 14-19; Kāmil., VII, 180, 184, 204; Ṭabarī, Ta'rikh ar-rusul wa 'l-mulūk, III, 1180, 2039; I Kh., I, 312-331; Iṣṭakhrī, Masālik al-mamālik 254; Maqdisī, Aḥsan at-taqāsīm., 316; Iṣfahānī, Maqātil at-Ṭalibiyyīn, 689  
cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 215-23; Haig, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ṣaffārids"; Bos., 147.

both the Ṭāhirids and the Ṣaffārids as a secretary, and the well-known jurist and traditionist Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh al-Būshanjī ( II. K. 1 ) was acquainted with the governor ʿAmr, who once awarded him 20,000 dinars. However, Ṣaffārid rule in Khurasan was short-lived so their patronage of men of literature and science is hardly worthy of notice.<sup>1</sup>

Politically, this dynasty acted independently of the Caliphs in Baghdad and when the Sāmānids invaded Nishapur in 900 the Ṣaffārid ruler ʿAmr was easily defeated and was taken as a prisoner to Baghdad.<sup>2</sup>

The Sāmānids ruled Transoxiana directly, with Khurasan remaining semi-independent. Khurasan was ruled by military leaders. Some were of Turkish slave origin, such as Tash Beztuzun and Fāʿiq. Others more famous came from notable local families, such as Abū-ʿAlī Chaghānī and Sīmjurīs. However for about a century Khurasan was under Sāmānid rule during which time it became, with Transoxiana, a centre of learning and arts.<sup>3</sup> The Sāmānid prince Abū-Ṣāliḥ Maṣṣūr ibn-Iṣḥāq was patron to the celebrated physician ar-Rāzī, who dedicated his book on medicine al-Manṣūrī to the honour of his patron.<sup>4</sup> And it was in response to a summons from the Sāmānid

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1. I Fun., 152; Subk., I, 290.

2. Kamil., VII, 345; Gardizi, Zayn al-akhbār, 19; cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 225; L H P, II, 10.

3. Bos., 29-30; for general survey of the Sāmānid dynasty, see Büchner, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Sāmānids".

4. Nicholson, Literary history of the Arabs, 265; L H P, I, 363; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 366; A L, 308; cf. Kraus and pines, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Rāzī"

prince Nuḥ ibn-Manṣūr (reg. 976-997) that the young Ibn-Sīnā, still in his teens, came to the prince's palace in Bukhārā. Ibn-Sīnā was given free access to the rich royal library, where he acquired much of his knowledge.<sup>1</sup>

In this period, too, a new manifestation was seen in the rise of a new Persian national epic. We may mention here Rūdagī of Samarqand, the blind minstrel and poet, of whom we possess his most remarkable achievement which is the song he composed and sang in the presence of the Sāmānid prince, Naṣr I ibn-Aḥmad (reg. 874 - 892), to induce that prince to leave Herat and return to his native city Bukhārā, which he had neglected for four years; and Daqīqī of Tūs whose fragment of a Persian epic was later incorporated by Firdawsī in his Shāhnāma.<sup>2</sup>

We read that the eminent al-Bal'amī family provided two learned and celebrated men, who acted as Viziers to the Sāmānid princes. The family was headed by Abū-'l-Faḍl Muḥammad al-Bal'amī (d. 940), who was a native of Marw and Vizier to the prince, Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad (reg. 892-897), and who later became vizier, probably in 927, to Naṣr II ibn-Aḥmad (reg. 913-943).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 265-266; A L., 285-286; L H P, II, 106-107; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 265; cf. De Boer, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ibn-Sīnā".
  2. Niẓāmī-i-'Arūḍī, Chahār maqāla, 33; cf. Nicholson, op.cit., 265. L H P, I, 16-17; Henri Massé, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Rūdakī".
  3. Ans., f. 90a.; Lub., I, 141-142; Shadh., II, 324; Niẓāmī-i-'Arūḍī, op.cit., 98; cf. Dunlop, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Bal'amī".

Abū-'l-Faḍl was a patron of scholars. In Nishapur his court was often visited by the celebrated scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) and the famous Shāfi'ite jurist Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ).<sup>1</sup> Abū-'l-Faḍl's taste in poetry was excellent and mention is made that he considered the poet Rūdagī without equal among the Arabs and Persians.<sup>2</sup> The son of Abū-'l-Faḍl, Abū-'Alī Muḥammad was a scholar and a politician. He became Vizier to 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Nūḥ (reg. 954-961), towards the end of his reign, through the influence of the chamberlain Alptigin. He was also vizier, twice, to 'Abd-al-Malik the successor of al-Manṣūr (reg. 997-999) and it was from him that he received instruction to write, in Persian, an abridgement of aṭ-Ṭabarī's history Ta'riḫ ar-rusul wa 'l-mulūk, which is one of the oldest prose works in Persian that have come down to us.<sup>3</sup>

Many other distinguished scholars connected their fortunes with the service of the Sāmānid rulers. For instance, from Nishapur, the leader of the Shāfi'ites, Ibn-Khuzayma was given the post of ra'īs of the city during the reign of the Sāmānid prince, Ismā'il ibn-Aḥmad (892 - 907), a post which he held till his death in 923 .<sup>4</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 131, 161.

2. Ans., f.202b.

3. Nizāmī-i-'Arūḍī, Chahār maqāla, 98; Gardīzī, Zayn-al-akhbār, 42-43; Dunlop E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Bal'amī"; Storey, Persian literature, I, 61-65; II, 1229; L H P, I, 11, 110, 356, 368-369, 478; Nicholson, Literary history of the Arabs, 265; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 463.

4. Subk., II, 131-132.



The post, however, was given later to a noble and a man of letters, Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mikālī ( II. P. 4 ), who later became associated with Sāmānid Vizier Abū-Ja' far al-'Utbī and who, through the favour of the Vizier, was appointed head of the chancellery, a post which he occupied till his death in 1071.<sup>1</sup> Another scholar of Nishapur who worked in the chancellery was Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī ( II. P. 7 ). He acted first as a secretary to the governor of Khurasan, Abū-'Alī Chaghānī and was then appointed head of the chancellery in Bukhārā by the Sāmānid prince, Nuḥ ibn-Naṣr (reg. 942-954).<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., II, 343-346; Ans., f.549a - 549b; cf.

Bos., 180; see below, 245-246.

2. Irsh., 229-230; Tha'alibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 96.

## THE TRADITIONISTS

### THE INFLUENCE OF THE WORK OF AL-BUKHĀRĪ AND MUSLIM ON THE COLLECTIONS OF THE OTHER TRADITIONISTS IN NISHAPUR: THE ATTITUDE OF THE SHĀFI'ITE AND THE ḤANAFITE SCHOOLS TOWARDS THE STUDY OF TRADITIONS.

The two Ṣaḥīḥs or collections of traditions which were made by al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) and Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) proved to be fruitful legacies for the writings of scholars on traditions during that century and for some time afterwards. The influence of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ in particular was very extensive among the Nishapurian scholars for approximately a century and a half after his death.

These two collections greatly influenced succeeding scholars in the manner in which their material was selected, treated and arranged. But more than this, some successors plagiarized the content of the works and even, sometimes, adopted similar titles. Among the collections which were arranged in the manner of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ were the Musnad of al-Qabbānī ( II. I. 1 ) and the Ṣaḥīḥ of Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ). And among those collections which were arranged in a way similar to the works of both al-Bukhārī and Muslim were the Mustakhraj of Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ) and the Ṣaḥīḥān of al-Ḥākim an-Naysāburī ( III. Q. 3 ). Lastly there were the collections arranged like that of Muslim, including al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ of Ibn-Salama ( I. A. 34 ), al-Jāmi' aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ of Abū-Ja'far al-Ḥirī ( II. I. 11 ), al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ of Abū-Imrān al-Juwaynī ( II. I. 20 ), the Ṣaḥīḥ of

Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), the Ṣaḥīḥ of Abū- Sa'īd al-Ḥīrī ( II. I. 33 ), the Mukhraj of ash-Shārakī ( II. I. 34 ), the Ṣaḥīḥ of Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) the Mukhraj of Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ) and al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ of Abū-'Awāna ( II. I. 16 ). The latter collection is the only one of those listed above which is extant. It is regarded as far inferior to the work of al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Abū-'Awāna's collection is, according to adh-Dhahabī, largely extracted from the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim with certain additional information added. The collection seems to have been transmitted in Nishapur and it is said that Abū-'Awāna's nephew Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'inī ( III. Q. 2 ) taught his uncle's book to a large number of students assembled in the ribāṭ of al-Bayhaqī in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

There were scholars whose lives were connected with Nishapur and who directed their labour to the criticism of transmitters; they included Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) and al-Khaṭṭābī ( II. I. 44 ). Muslim scholars made researches and investigations in order to find credible isnād with unbroken series of reliable transmitters. The purpose of the study is to determine after investigation the nature of transmitters and make clear who were reliable and who were not. This kind of study was called the 'science of men', 'ilm ar-rijāl, and the general name for the criticism of the men was 'wounding and authenticating', al-jarḥ wa't-ta'dīl. Ibn-Ḥibbān was one of the earliest writers in Khurasan to compose works on

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1. I Kh., II, 308; Miftāḥ, II, 15; Tadh, III, 2; I H, X, 127; Aḥmad Amīn, Ḍuḥā al-Islām, I, 263; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 46.

the science of men; the most famous of his works, which is extant, is his book ath-Thiqāt, which is frequently mentioned and quoted by Ibn-Ḥajar and as-Subkī. His other work, which is also extant, is entitled Kitāb at-ta'rīkh wa'l-majruḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn. A generation after Ibn-Ḥibbān, lived the most renowned authority on traditions, al-Khaṭṭābī, who left behind him two works on the criticism of tradition which are extant today. The first deals with the corrections of the errors made by some authorities and is called Iṣlāḥ  
Gharīb  
ghalaṭ al-muḥaddithīn. The second was the more important and it deals with the uncommon words in the 'text', matn, of tradition. This book became one of the basic text-books for succeeding generations and was taught alongside the Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim and al-Bukhārī. However the last work of this kind written by a Nishapurian was by the celebrated scholar 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ), who lived in the twelfth century: his work is extant and is called Majma' al-gharā'ib.<sup>1</sup>

We must now note the formation of the two recognized Sunnite schools of jurisprudence in Nishapur, the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite, whose adherents, followed different trends and held different attitudes towards the study of tradition. The Shāfi'ites relied more on traditions than the Ḥanafites though the differences are not very great. There were in

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1. Tadh., III, 209; Subk., II, 141; Nadawī Tadhkirāt an-nawādir, 90-92; Aḥmad Amin, Duḥā al-Islām, II, 129-130; A L, 225; Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth"; Ibid., "Tradition: Investigation and Classification" M W, (1951) 105.

Khurasan scholars who devoted themselves to the study of traditions, who were noted as the best authorities on the subject, and who were connected with Abū-Ḥanīfa or his pupils: among them were 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubārak ( I. F. 1 ); Ibn-Ḥahmān ( I. B. 1 ) and al-Jārūd, (I.B.3). Later some noted Ḥanafite jurists were also distinguished as reliable authorities on traditions: among them were Abū-Bakr al-Jārūdī (II. J. 1), known as one of the imāms of traditions in Nishapur as well as being well-versed in jurisprudence, the qādī of Nishapur Ibn-Salmuwayhi (II.I.4), who was a master of shurūt, and Ibrāhīm an-Naysābūrī ( II. J. 5 ), who was a transmitter of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. However, some of the Ḥanafites refused to teach traditions or refused to give personal opinions, fatwās, which relied on traditions: among suchmen were Ibn-Dīnār ( II. J. 7 ) and Abū-Ṣādiq at-Tabbānī ( II. J. 17 )<sup>1</sup>

However most of the writers and collectors of traditions were connected with the Shāfi'ite school of jurisprudence. For example, Abū-'Awāna, whom we have mentioned above as one of the collectors of traditions, is said to have introduced Shāfi'ism into Isfarā'in though we do not know under whom he had studied this doctrine.<sup>2</sup> One of the most distinguished traditionist scholars in the tenth century was a native of Nishapur, Abū-'l-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb, known as al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), who came to be known as a follower of the Shāfi'ite school. He studied the writings of ash-Shāfi'ī

1. Jaw., I, 105; II, 66; Muntazam., VI, 365.

2. I Kh., II, 308; Tadh., III, 3; see above, 134.

in Egypt. When he returned to Nishapur he gave lectures on the Qur'ān and the Mabṣūt of ash-Shāfi'ī. It is narrated that students came from all over the Islamic world to attend his classes, some even from countries as distant as Spain.<sup>1</sup>

Contemporary with al-Aṣamm was Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ (II. I. 31), who was a collector of traditions and a critic, included by as-Subkī among the Shāfi'ite scholars. He held the view that the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī was inferior to that of Muslim.<sup>2</sup> Another distinguished traditionist who is also included by as-Subkī among the Shāfi'ites was Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj, (II. I. 12). He is simply referred to as the transmitter of Nishapur, and he was noted as an opponent of the theologians particularly of those who followed the Mu'tazalite doctrines, because it is related that when az-Za'farānī visited Nishapur and began to preach one of their doctrines about the creation of the Qur'ān, as-Sarrāj succeeded in bringing evidence against him and inciting the people to compel him to leave the city.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tadh., III, 73-74.

2. Subk., II, 215.

3. Tadh., II, 270.

## I

THE TRADITIONISTS (900-1000)

## I.1      Abū-Bakr Al-Qabbānī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-Ziyād. He was a native of Nishapur and he received the nisba of 'the weigher' al-Qabbānī because his paternal grandfather had possessed a steelyard which was frequently borrowed from him by some of the natives and from this the family received this nisba.

Al-Qabbānī obtained his knowledge of traditions in Nishapur by learning from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ), Sahl ibn-'Uthmān, Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mundhir and some other traditionists. He attended the classes of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) during the latter's second visit to Nishapur. When a dispute arose between al-Bukhārī and adh-Dhuhlī (I.A.22) on the subject of the pronunciation of the words of the Qur'ānic text, al-Qabbānī, the faithful student, supported his teacher al-Bukhārī against his rivals and he continued to visit him during the latter's stay in Nishapur. Al-Qabbānī travelled to Iraq and Ḥijāz. He heard and collected traditions from the masters of both regions, amongst them Maṣṣūr ibn-'Alī<sup>ibn</sup>-Muzāḥim, Abū-Muṣ'ab, Ibn-Abī-Shayba and Ibn-Mānī'. He became noted in Nishapur as a reliable transmitter of traditions and it is said that traditions were related on his authority in the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. He died in Nishapur in 901.

Al-Qabbānī was a collector of traditions and an author. His best-known work in his own time was the Musnad and like

his teacher al-Bukhārī he composed the biographies of his shaykhs, entitled at-Ta'rikh. He was also the author of the Abwāb and the Kunā, but all his writings are lost.<sup>1</sup>

## I.2 Abū-Bakr as-Sulamī

His name was Mubashshir ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Razīn ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Burd. He was a native of Nishapur. He received the nisba as-Sulamī probably because he belonged to the Arabian tribe of Sulaym. He stayed most of his life in Nishapur where he heard traditions from Ibn-Ṭahmān (I. B. 1). He became noted as a reliable traditionist and it is said that he delivered traditions on the authority of Ibn-Ishāq, Abū-Rajā' al-Harawī, Sufyān ibn-al-Ḥusayn, al-Ḥajjāj ibn-Araṭā, Hārūn ibn-Mūsā an-Naḥwī and Khārija ibn-Muṣ'ab. He died in Nishapur in 901.<sup>2</sup>

## I.3 Abū-'l-Faḍl an-Naysābūrī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-an-Naḍr ibn-'Abd-al-Waḥhāb. He was a native of Nishapur and he and his brother Muḥammad devoted themselves to learning the subject of tradition. He himself heard traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya

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1. I H, II, 268; Tadh., II, 226-227; Shadh., II, 201; cf. Ans., ff. 440b-441a; Iub., II, 239-40.

2. I H, X, 32.



( I. C. 1 ) al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), and other traditionists. It is related that when al-Bukhārī visited Nishapur, he stayed as a guest in his house, and he studied the Ṣaḥīḥ of his guest. He became noted in Nishapur as a reliable traditionist and a transmitter of the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. It is said that traditions were related on his authority in the works of Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), Ibn al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ) and al-Bukhārī. Abū-'l-Faḍl died in Nishapur in 902.<sup>1</sup>

#### I. 4 Al-Isma'īlī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Isma'īl ibn-Mihrān. His nisba al-Isma'īlī was derived from the name of his father. He heard traditions in his native city Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). He travelled widely to hear traditions, journeying to Iraq, Ḥijāz, Syria and Egypt. During his travels, he heard traditions in most of the cities of these countries, notably from Hishām ibn-'Ammār, Ḥarmala ibn-Yaḥya, 'Īsā ibn-Ḥammād, Aḥmad al-Ḥuwārī, Abū-Nu'aym al-Ḥalabī and Yaḥya ibn-Ṭalḥa al-Yarbū'ī. He became noted as a reliable traditionist and a teacher. He taught traditions in Nishapur and among his pupils were the

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1. Tadh., II, 197-98; I H, I, 87; Shadh., II, 205.

Nishapurians Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ), Abū-Ḥamid ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ) Ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ) and Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ar-Rāzī ( II. I. 14 ). He died in Nishapur in 907.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.5 Abū-'Amr al-Khaffāf

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur and he received the nisba al-Khaffāf because he was a boot-maker. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and Ibn-Rāfi' ( I. A. 15 ). He left Nishapur and travelled for thirty years in Islamic lands in pursuit of learning traditions. He learned during his travels from Abū-Muṣ'ab az-Zuhrī, Ya'qūb ibn-al-Kāsih, Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz, Ibn-Abī-Rizma, Abū-Kurayb and from many other authorities.

Al-Khaffāf was a reliable traditionist, a muftī and a professor of traditions. He used to give fatwās, referring in each fatwā to a recitation of a hundred thousand traditions. Many in Khurasan and especially in his native city Nishapur studied traditions under him such as Abū-Ḥamid ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21) Aḥmad al-Ḥirī (II. I. 17 ) and Abū-Bakr Aḥmad aḍ-Ḍaba'ī ( II. I. 25 ). He died in 911.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., II, 227; Shadh., II, 221; Lub., I, 46-47; Ans., f.36b.

2. Tadh., II, 204-205; Muntazam., VI, 110; Shadh., II, 231-32. Lub., I, 381; Ans., ff. 204a-204b.

## I.6 Abū-Ishāq al-Anmāṭī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Ishāq and he was a native of Nishapur. He received the nisba al-Anmāṭī probably because he earned his living by trading in carpets.<sup>1</sup> He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). Then he travelled widely through the Islamic world and during his travels he heard traditions from 'Uthmān ibn-Shayba, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-ar-Rammāh, Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamid ar-Rāzī and from many other masters. He came to Baghdad and became associated with Ahmad ibn-Ḥanbal. Al-Anmāṭī was considered to be a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur to Abū-Ḥamid ibn-Ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ) and Yahya ibn-Muḥammad al-Anbārī. He was the author of the commentary on the Qur'ān entitled at-Tafsīr al-kabīr, but this work has not survived. He died in 915.<sup>2</sup>

## I.7 Abū-Ya'qūb al-Bushtī

His name was Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Naṣr. He was born in the district of Busht in Nishapur. This district was inhabited by the Arabs after the early Islamic invasion of the city in 652 and produced many scholars in Arabic literature.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Bushtī devoted himself to the study of traditions and

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1. See the nisba "al-Anmāṭī", Lub., I, 73; Ans., f.52a.

2. Tadh., II, 243-244; Shadh., II, 242.

3. M B, I, 628; Lub., I, 126; Ans., ff. 82b-83a.

came to the city of Nishapur where he studied traditions under the Shāfi'ite scholar Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). He travelled through the Islamic world in pursuit of collecting traditions. He heard them during his travels from Qutayba ibn-Sa'īd, Ibn-Ishāq, Hishām ibn-'Ammār and 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Imrān al-'Āyidhī. He became noted in Khurasan as a reliable traditionist and, according to Ibn-'Imād, al-Bushtī composed a work entitled al-Iusnaḍ, in three large volumes, but this work has not come down to us. He died in Nishapur in 915.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.8 Ibn-Shīruwayhi

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Shīruwayhi. He was a native of Nishapur. His great-grandfather was Shīruwayhi was a mawlā of the Arabian tribe Quraysh. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and 'Amr ibn-Zurāra ( I. G. 2 ). He also learned during his travels through Khurasan and Iraq from 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Mu'āwiya al-Jahmī, Abū-Kurayb and Aḥmad ibn-Manī'. It is said that most of the Nishapurian students of traditions studied under him, notably Ibn-al-Akram (II.I.27) and Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ (II. I. 31). He died in Nishapur in 917, at the age of ninety.

Ibn-Shīruwayhi was a reliable traditionist. He was also the author of many works in the science of tradition, but

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1. Tadh., II, 244; Shadh., II, 242.

none of his works now exist nor does his biographer give their titles.<sup>1</sup>

### I.9 Abū-Zakariyyā al-A'raj

His name was Yahya ibn-Zakariyyā ibn-Yahya. He was a native of Nishapur well known by his nisba 'the lame' al-A'raj.<sup>2</sup> He learned traditions from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1) and other authorities. He travelled into Ḥijāz, Syria and Egypt and during his travels he used to write down traditions from the masters of the cities he visited. Occasionally he dictated traditions to a number of students. Latterly, he settled in Egypt and died there in 919.

Al-A'raj was a reliable traditionist. Many traditionists learned traditions from him including his paternal cousin Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh, as well as Muḥammad ad-Daghawlī and the famous traditionist Abū-Ḥamid ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21). It is reported that an-Nasā'ī related traditions on al-A'raj's authority and included him among the reliable traditionists. Al-A'raj was referred to by Ibn-Ḥajar as being one of the Shāfi'ites who gathered a great knowledge of the doctrine of Shāfi'ism but the biographer of the Shāfi'ites as-Subkī has not mentioned him in his work, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tadh., II, 247-248.

2. See the nisba "al-A'raj", Lub., I, 60; Ans., f.44b.

3. Tadh., II, 279; Shadh., II, 251-52; I. H., IX, 210-211.

## I.10 Abū-Muḥammad al-Jārūd

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Jārūd. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions in his native place from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). He moved to Mecca and settled there till his death in 919. He learned traditions in Mecca from Abū-Sa'īd al-Ashajj, Muḥammad ibn-Ad'ham, 'Alī ibn-Khashram, Ya'qūb ad-Dawraqī and others. He became recognised as a reliable traditionist and a critic and in Nishapur traditions were taught on his authority by Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), Ibn-Manṣūr ( II. I. 29 ) and many other authorities. Al-Jārūd was the author of a selected list of legal decisions which was entitled al-Muttafiq fi'l-aḥkām. This work has been lost.<sup>1</sup>

## I.11 Abū-Ja'far al-Ḥīrī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ḥamdān ibn-'Alī. He was a native of Nishapur from the quarter of al-Ḥīra. He travelled first to Mawṣil, where he heard traditions from Abū-Ya'lā al-Mawṣilī, then to Gurgān, where he heard traditions from Mūsā ibn-Mujāshi'. Al-Ḥīrī was also associated with some mystics. In Nishapur he was closely associated with Shāh-Shujā' al-Kirmānī ( II. N. 1 ) and also with the Baghdadian al-Junayd, who used to correspond with him by letter. He died

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1. Tadh., III, 15.

in Nishapur in 923. Al-Ḥirī was noted as a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur and among his pupils was his son Muḥammad who became a master of Khwārizm. Al-Ḥirī was also the author of a collection of traditions; the title and the materials of his work were extracted from the work of Muslim, entitled the Ṣaḥīḥ; Al-Ḥirī's book is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.12 Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Iṣḥāq ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Mihrān ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to the Arabian tribe of Thaḡīf. He was well known by his nisba as-Sarrāj which was derived from his ancestor's trade of saddle-making.<sup>2</sup> As-Sarrāj was born in Nishapur in 830-831. He met in his birth place Abū-Zakariyyā Yahya ibn-Yahya ( I. A. 5 ) and learned traditions from the Nishapurians Iṣḥāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and 'Amr ibn-Zurāra ( I. G. 2 ). He travelled in pursuit of learning traditions in Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz and learned from authorities such as Qutayba ibn-Sa'īd, Muḥammad ibn-ar-Rayyān, Abū-Kurayb, Dāwūd ibn-Rashīd and from many others. According to al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, as-Sarrāj came to Baghdad where he stayed about forty years, then he left for Nishapur where he remained until his death in 925.

1. Tadh., II, 293-294; Khaṭ., IV, 115; Sulam., 336; Sha'., I, 86.

2. Lub., I, 538; Ans., f.295a.

As-Sarrāj is considered as a reliable traditionist and as the transmitter of Nishapur. He taught traditions in Nishapur to a number of students who later became distinguished scholars, such as Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ) and Ibn-Ḥibbān (II. K. 9 ). It is said that traditions were related on his authority in the Ṣaḥīḥ's of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ). It is also said that as-Sarrāj was the author of many books on traditions which were celebrated in their time but which have never been traced.<sup>1</sup>

### I. 13 Abū-Bakr adh-Dhahabī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥasan and he was a native of Balkh. His nisba adh-Dhahabī means 'the gold-miner', and probably this was the profession of his ancestors.<sup>2</sup> Adh-Dhahabī settled in Nishapur and learned traditions there from Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), and from others during his travels including 'Amr ibn-'Alī al-Fallās, Muḥammad ibn-Bashshār, Salama ibn-Junāda and Ḥajjāj ash-Shā'ir. He taught traditions in Nishapur and among those who learned from him were Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), al-Ismā'īlī ( II. I. 4 ) and Abū-Ja'far al-Bushtī. Adh-Dhahabī was an author of traditions. The original copies of his works were

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1. Subk., II, 129-130; Tadh., II, 268-273; Muntazam., VI, 199; Wafī., I, 187; Khaṭ., I, 248-251.

2. See the nisba "adh-Dhahabī", Lub., I, 477; Ans., f.241a.



possessed by al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) who alleged that these works were full of inventions. Their titles are unknown. Adh-Dhahabī died in 926.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.14 Abū-Bakr ar-Rāzī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-ʿAlī ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Shahrayār. He was a native of Nishapur. His nisba was ar-Rāzī because his father was a native of Rayy, but he himself was born in Nishapur. It is reported by Ibn-ʿImād that ar-Rāzī travelled through Syria, Iraq, Ḥijāz and Khurasan and visited the cities of Rayy, Baghdad and Kūfa. He learned traditions during his travels from as-Sariyy ibn-Khuzayma, Abū-Ḥatim ar-Rāzī, Ibrāhīm al-Qaṣṣār and from many other authorities. In Nishapur he taught traditions to Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ), Abū-ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥakim ( II. I. 43 ) and others. Ar-Rāzī was an author who wrote on the science of tradition but his biographers mention none of the titles of his works.

Latterly ar-Rāzī settled at Ṭūs and died there in the district of Ṭābarān in 927, aged over fifty-four.<sup>2</sup>

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1. al-Ḥakim as quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Tadh., III, 21.

2. Tadh., III, 10; Shadh., II, 270.

## I.15      Abū-Bakr as-Sijistānī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Sulaymān. He was born in Sijistān in 844 but was brought up in Nishapur. He travelled widely for the purpose of learning traditions, in Khurasan, Syria, Hījāz, Iraq and Egypt. Abū-Nu'aym mentions that as-Sijistānī made a second visit to Iṣpahan in 893. He taught about thirty thousand traditions in that city, then he came to Nishapur where he taught traditions to Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ). Then he settled in Baghdad for the rest of his life. He died in 928. As-Sijistānī was a reliable traditionist and a collector of traditions. He collected from Abū-Sa'īd al-Ashajj alone about thirty thousand traditions. None of the titles of his collections are mentioned by his biographers.<sup>1</sup>

## I.16      Abū-'Awāna

His name was Ya'qūb ibn-Ishāq ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Yazīd. He lived in Nishapur and afterwards in Isfarā'in. He travelled widely and collected a great number of traditions. He travelled through Khurasan, Syria, Fārs, Egypt, Iraq and Yaman, visited the cities of Baṣra, Kūfa, Wāsiṭ, Iṣpahan and Rayy, and was seen in Gurgān. Ibn-Khallikān remarks that

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1. Abū-Nu'aym, Dhikr ta'rīkh Iṣbahān, II, 66; Shadh., II, 273.

Abū-‘Awāna heard traditions only in Syria, Egypt, Iraq and Khurasan. In Nishapur his teachers were Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ), Muslim ibn-al-Ḥajjāj ( I. A. 28 ), Muḥammad ibn-Rajā’ as-Sindī and others. In Iraq he met Aḥmad ibn-Ḥarb and heard traditions from him. In Egypt he studied jurisprudence under the eminent Shāfi‘ite jurist Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī, and lastly he attended at Damascus the lessons of Yazīd ibn-‘Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad and Ismā‘īl ibn-Muḥammad. Abū-‘Awāna made the pilgrimage to Mecca five times. In the last period of his life, on his return from Egypt, he lived at Isfarā’in and the biographers attribute to him the distinction of being the first to introduce to Isfarā’in the Shāfi‘ite doctrine. He died in Isfarā’in in 928-29.

Abū-‘Awāna was an eminent and reliable traditionist and a jurist of the Shāfi‘ite school. He taught traditions in Nishapur to a number of masters including al-Ismā‘īlī ( II. I. 4 ), Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī ar-Razī ( II. I. 14 ) and Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ). He was a collector of traditions and compiled a book entitled al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ, the materials of which he extracted from the work of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). This work is extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I Kh., II, 308-309; Tadh., III, 2-4; Miftāḥ., II, 15; M B., I, 246-248; Lub., I, 43; Ans., f.33b; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 40; G A L S, II, 947.

## I.17     Abū-‘Amr al-Ḥirī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥafṣ. He was of a noble and wealthy family in Nishapur. He lived in the quarter of al-Ḥīra in Nishapur and studied traditions there under Ibn-Rāfi‘ ( I. A. 15 ) and Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ). He travelled through Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz, during which time he heard traditions from a number of masters including Abū-Zur‘a, ar-Ramādī, ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Ḥāshim and Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘d ibn-al-‘Aṭṭār. It is said that he studied in Iraq the Musnad of Abū-‘Uthmān ad-Dārimī under the author. He had established the reputation of being a professor of traditions in Nishapur and taught eminent masters of that city among them Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31) and al-‘Ismā‘īlī ( II. I. 4 ). He died in Nishapur in 929.<sup>1</sup>

## I.18     Ibn-Ḥamdūn

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamdūn ibn-Khālīd. He was a native of Nishapur and he received the kunya of Abū-Bakr. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ). He also learned during his travels through the Islamic world from Abū-Dārā ar-Rabī‘, al-Murādī and from many other masters. It is said that he was a reliable traditionist and that traditions were delivered

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1. Tadh., III, 19; Shadh., II, 275.

on his authority by Abū-ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ) Abū-Muḥammad al-Mukhalladī and others. He died in Nishapur in 932.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.19 Abū-Ḥamid al-Aʿmashī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ḥamdūn ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the celebrated mystic of Nishapur Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ). He received the nisba of al-Aʿmashī because he had collected the traditions of al-Aʿmash.<sup>2</sup> He heard traditions in Nishapur from Ibn-Rāfiʿ ( I. A. 15 ) and Abū-Yaʿqūb Ishāq al-Kawsaj and from many other masters of the city. Al-Aʿmashī was noted at his time as a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur to a number of scholars among them Abū-ʿAlī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣuʿlūkī ( II. L. 1 ) and Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ). He died in Nishapur in 933.<sup>3</sup>

#### I.20 Abū-ʿImrān al-Juwaynī

His name was Mūsā ibn-al-ʿAbbās. He was a native of Juwayn which is a town within the geographical boundaries of

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1. Shadh., II, 286; Tadh., III, 27.

2. Lub., I, 60; Ans., f.45a.

3. Shadh., II, 288; Tadh., III, 25-27.

Nishapur. He learned traditions in the city of Nishapur from Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ( I. A. 29 ), Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ) and Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf as-Sulamī ( I. A. 30 ). He became recognised in Nishapur as a reliable traditionist and taught traditions there to Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu‘lūkī<sup>(II.L.1)</sup> and others. He died in his native town Juwayn in 934. Al-Juwaynī was a collector of traditions and the author of a compilation entitled al-Musnad aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ, the material for which he extracted from the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). But it seems his work has not survived.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.21 Ibn-ash-Sharqī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan, with the kunya of Abū-Ḥāmid. He was born in 854 in the eastern sector of the city of Nishapur and therefore he received the nisba of ash-Sharqī. He studied traditions in Nishapur under the famous traditionist Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). He also learned them there from Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ) and Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ( I. A. 29 ). He travelled extensively, visiting Khurasan, Ḥijāz and Iraq, and heard traditions in Rayy from Abū-Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, in Kūfa from Abū-Ḥāzim and Ibn-Abī-‘Izra, in Mecca from ‘Abd-ibn-Maysara and lastly in Baghdad from ‘Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad aṭ-Ṭastī

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1. Tadh., III, 36-37; M B, II, 164.

and 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Shākir. Then he became renowned in Nishapur as a reliable traditionist and taught traditions there to Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ) Abū-Bakr al-Jawzaqī ( II. I. 42 ) and others. It is recorded that he came to Baghdad and taught traditions there in an assembly presided over by the Baghdadian al-Ma'marī. He died in Nishapur in 936.

Ibn-ash-Sharqī was the author of a collection of traditions entitled aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ, the material for which he derived from the Ṣaḥīḥ of his teacher Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). His book seems to be lost.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.22 Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to the most prominent scholarly family in the city, 'the beggars' aṣ-Ṣu'lūkīs. Formerly the family was connected with the Ḥanafite sect in Nishapur, but Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib and his nephew Abū-Sahl ( II. L. 1 ) belonged to the Shāfi'ite sect of that city. Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib learned traditions in Nishapur from Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ) and Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ). It is said that he also learned in Rayy and Baghdad but his teachers are unknown. He was held in Nishapur in high esteem as the chief traditionist of the city

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1. Tadh., III, 39-40; Khaṭ., IV, 426; Shadh., II, 306; Subk., II, 97; Ans., f.332a; Lub., II, 17.

who reached the high isnād in delivering traditions. It is also said that al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) heard from him a tradition concerning the subject of 'recollections', dhikrs. He taught traditions in Nishapur to a number of scholars notably al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī and Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ). But in the latter period of his life Abū-ʿġ-Ṭayyib abandoned teaching that subject. In jurisprudence Abū-ʿġ-Ṭayyib was of the Shāfiʿite school and he was the rival for the leadership of the Shāfiʿites in Nishapur which was held in his time by Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He disliked the latter and it is said that he forbade his nephew Abū-Sahī to attend the classes of the Shāfiʿite leader. On the death of Ibn-Khuzayma in 923, Abū-ʿġ-Ṭayyib succeeded to the leadership of the sect and when he died in 948 his nephew Abū-Sahī was acknowledged by the Shāfiʿites in Nishapur as their leader.<sup>1</sup>

### I.23 Ibn-Ḥamshādh

His name was ʿAlī ibn-Ḥamshādh. He was a native of Nishapur and he received the kunya of Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan. He learned traditions during his travels through the Islamic world from al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Faḍl, al-Faḍl ash-Shaʿrānī, Ibn-Abī-Usāma and from many other masters. He was considered in his time to be one of the greatest traditionists

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1. Subk., II, 98; Ans., f.352a; Lub., II, 55.



of Nishapur and a reliable authority. He taught traditions in Nishapur to Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥakīm ( II.I.43 ). He died in 949.

Ibn-Mamshādh was a collector of traditions and the author of four books;

1. Al-Musnad.
2. Al-Aḥkām.
3. Al-Tafsīr.
4. Al-Anwār.

None of his works survive.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.24 Abū-‘Abd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣaffār

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Iṣpahan. According to as-Sam‘ānī and Ibn-al-Athīr, Abū-‘Abd-Allāh received the nisba aṣ-Ṣaffār because of his trade in copper vases. He learned traditions in his native place from Aḥmad ibn-‘Iṣām and Asīd ibn-‘Āṣim. He travelled in pursuit of learning traditions and received traditions during his travels from Aḥmad ibn-Mihrān in Fārs, Aḥmad ibn-‘Ubayd-Allāh ar-Rassi in Baghdad and from ‘Alī ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz in Mecca. Before 912-913 he settled in Nishapur and taught traditions there, notably to Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥafīẓ ( II. I. 31 ) and al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III.Q.3 ). He remained in Nishapur until his death in 950. Abū-‘Abd-Allāh

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1. Muntazam., VI, 364; Tadh., III, 69; Shadh., II, 248.

was a reliable traditionist, an ascetic and a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school. He is said to have compiled several works on asceticism, jurisprudence and traditions. As-Subkī remarks that most of Abū-'Abd-Allāh's celebrated works were copied by the copyist Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Miṣrī and about 500 volumes of his works and precepts were confiscated by his copyist. However that may be there is no trace of his works today.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.25 Abū-Bakr aḍ-Ḍuba'ī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ishāq ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Yazīd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Nūḥ. He was a native of Nishapur, of Arabian descent and related to the tribe of Ḍubay'a which, according to as-Sam'ānī and Ibn-al-Athīr, came from Arabia and settled in al-Baṣra. Aḍ-Ḍuba'ī was born in Nishapur in 871; he devoted himself to horsemanship until he was eighty years of age, after which he began searching for traditions, travelling for this purpose and learning traditions during his travels from al-Faḍl ash-Sha'rānī, Ismā'īl ibn-Qutayba, Ya'qūb ibn-Yūsuf al-Qazwīnī and Muḥammad ibn-Ayyūb in Khurasan, al-Ḥārith Ibn-Abī-Usāma and Ismā'īl al-Qāḍī in Baghdad, Hishām ibn-'Alī in Baṣra and 'Alī ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz in Mecca. He became noted in Nishapur as a reliable

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1. Subk., II, 166; Abū-Nu'aym, Dhikr ta'rīkh Iṣbahān, II, 271; Ans., f.353a; Lub., II, 70; cf. 172n.

traditionist and a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school. He taught traditions in Nishapur and among the Nishapurians who learned from him were Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) and al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III. Q. 3). He died in Nishapur in 953.

Aḍ-Ḍaba'ī compiled several works, the best known at his time being the books al-Faḍā'il al-arba'a and al-Aḥkāṁ, but none of these works are extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.26 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Anmārī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Khiḍr ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Nahīk ibn-'Abd-al-Muṭṭalib ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Zuhayr. His ancestor Zuhayr was the Companion of the Prophet. He was a native of Nishapur. His nisba al-Anmārī is related to several Arabian tribes but neither as-Sam'ānī nor Ibn-al-Athīr can say to which particular tribe he belonged. Al-Anmārī studied traditions in Nishapur under various teachers, notably Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Būshanjī (II.K.1). He became noted as one of the great imāms of Nishapur, a reliable traditionist and a Shāfi'ite in jurisprudence, and it is said that he taught traditions in this city to several masters: among them were Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ) and Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ (II.I.31). He died in 955.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 81-82; Shadh., II, 361; see the nisba "aḍ-Ḍaba'ī", Lub., II, 70; or "aḍ-Ḍaba'ī", Ans., f.360a.

2. Subk., II, 83; Lub., I, 73; Ans., f.52a.

## I.27 Ibn al-Akram

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb ibn-Yūsuf ibn-al-Akhram. He received the kunya Abū-'Abd-Allāh, but he was better known by his laqab of Ibn-al-Akhram. He was born in Nishapur in 864. He completed his studies in Nishapur by attending the courses on tradition given by several masters, notably Yahya ibn-Muḥammad adh-Dhuhli ( I. B. 11 ) and Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ). He became noted as a reliable traditionist and restricted his teachings to Nishapur. It is said that traditions were learned from him by several Nishapurians, amongst them Abū-Bakr aḍ-Ḍubā'ī ( II. I. 25 ) and al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). He died in Nishapur in 955.

Ibn-al-Akhram was a collector of traditions. He compiled a collection of traditions, on the advice of his friend as-Sarrāj (II. I. 12); entitled al-Mustakhraj, which was written along the lines of the Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ). He also compiled another two works also on traditions: the first was entitled al-Musnad al-kabīr and the second entitled al-Mukhtaṣar aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ, but none of his works are extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tadh., III, 76-77; Shadh., II, 368.

## I.28 Al-Aṣamm

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Ma'qil al-Ma'qilī. He received the kunya of Abū-'l-'Abbās and the nisba of al-Ma'qilī, which was derived from the name of his ancestor Ma'qil. However, he was better known as 'the deaf' al-Aṣamm, which was his laqab. He was born in Nishapur in 861 and during his youth he learned traditions in this city from Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf known as Ḥamdān ( I. A. 30 ) and from Aḥmad ibn-al-Azhar ( I. A. 29 ). In 878, his father took him to Iṣpahān and in that city he learned traditions from Hārūn ibn-Sulaymān and Asīd ibn-'Āṣim. In the same year his father took him on a pilgrimage to Mecca where he heard traditions from Aḥmad ibn-Sinān ar-Ramlī. Later his father took him to Egypt. He lived there for a time and studied the works of the divine Imām ash-Shāfi'ī. Then he left his father behind and went to Syria where he learned traditions in 'Asqalān from Aḥmad ibn-al-Faḍl aṣ-Ṣā'igh, in Damascus from Ibn-Mallās and Yazīd ibn-'Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad, in Ḥimṣ from Abū-'Uqba al-Ḥijāzī and Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭā'ī, in Ṭarsūs from Abū-Umayya and in Raqqā from Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār al-'Uṭaridī and the disciple of Abū-'Uyayna, Muḥammad al-Hajwānī. Later, he came to Iraq and visited Kūfa, Mawṣil and Baghdad. In the latter place he learned traditions from Zakariyyā al-Marwazī and Abū-Ja'far al-Murādī. When he left Baghdad at the age of thirty, he came to Nishapur and at this time he was called al-Aṣamm because he had lost his hearing during his long journey. He settled in Nishapur and began teaching traditions

in classes which he held in his house. He lectured to his students on the Mabsūṭ of ash-Shāfi'ī and some other works on the Qur'ānic text and traditions. It is reported that he gave lessons to numerous students who came from all Islamic lands including Spain. Mention is made that he gave lessons in Nishapur to Ibn-al-Akhram ( II. I. 27 ) Abū-Bakr aḍ-Ḍaba'ī ( II. I. 25 ) Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ), Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ), Ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ) Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ) al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and other eminent scholars of the city. He died in Nishapur in 956, leaving behind him the reputation of being the greatest reliable traditionist of the city.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.29 Ibn-Manṣūr

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-'Īsā. He received the kunya Abū-Aḥmad and was a native of Ṭūs. He came to Nishapur several times in pursuit of collecting traditions from the masters of the city. It is said that he learned traditions from Ibn-Shīruwayhi ( II. I. 8 ) and Abū-Ishāq al-Anmāṭī ( II. I. 6 ). In his native city Ṭūs he became noted as a reliable traditionist and a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school. He was appointed qāḍī there and during the

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1. Tadh., III, 73-75; Shadh., II, 373; Muntaẓam., VI, 386; Kāmil, VIII, 389; Ans., ff.42a-42b; Lub., I, 56.

time of his occupation of the office he was visited by the famous Nishapurian traditionist al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) who conversed with him. Ibn-Manṣūr died in 956.<sup>1</sup>

### I.30 Abū-'l-'Abbās aṣ-Ṣibghī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-Ayyūb ibn-Yazīd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Nūḥ. His father Abū-Ya'qūb Ishāq was a learned man from Nishapur who earned his living by trading with 'dye', ṣibgh, and hence the family received the nisba of aṣ-Ṣibghī. Abū-'l-'Abbās learned traditions in Nishapur from Yahya ibn-Muḥammad adh-Dhuhlī ( I. B. 11 ). He lived 104 years and died in 956. He is mentioned frequently by al-Fārisī in his biographical work as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr as a teacher of traditions. Among Abū-'l-'Abbās' students were Abū-Ja'far al-Mustamlī ( III. Q. 4 ), Abū-Ḥamid al-Muwālqābādī ( III. Q. 12 ) and Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Muzakkī ( III. Q. 33 ).<sup>2</sup>

### I.31 Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī ibn-Yazīd ibn-Dāwūd. He was born in Nishapur in 890. During his youth he was a

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1. Tadh., III, 118.

2. Mizān., III, 478; Lub., II, 49; Ans., f.349b.

craftsman (an artisan) but the scholars of Nishapur discovered his intelligence and advised him to change his career and seek knowledge. He started learning traditions in 906 in Nishapur. Among his teachers were, notably Abū-‘Abd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣaffār ( II. I. 24 ) and Ibn-Shīruwayhi ( II. I. 8 ). In 907 he left Nishapur and travelled widely in the Islamic world in pursuit of learning and collecting traditions. It is reported by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) that Abū-‘Alī learned traditions during his travels, in Nasā from al-Ḥusayn ibn-Sufyān, in Gurgān from ‘Imrān ibn-Mūsā, in Baghdad from ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Nājiya, in Kūfa from Muḥammad ibn-Ja‘far al-Qattāt, in Baṣra from Abū-Khalīfa and Zakariyyā as-Sājī, in Wāsiṭ from Ja‘far ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Sinān, in Ahwāz from ‘Abdān, in Iṣpahān from Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr, in Mawṣil from Abū-Ya‘lā, in Egypt from Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān an-Nasā’ī and in Mecca from Aḥmad ibn-Ishāq aṣ-Ṣibghī. Upon his return to his native city Nishapur, he began presiding over assemblies in which he taught traditions and among the scholars of the city who attended his assemblies was al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī. In 922, he left Nishapur and settled in Baghdad where he was acknowledged by the scholars of the city as undisputedly the best traditionist of his time after Abū-Bakr al-Ji‘ābī. He held an assembly in 948 in Baghdad in which he dictated traditions. He died in 960, at the age of seventy.

Abū-‘Alī is regarded as a collector of traditions and a critic. None of his collections are named by his biographer nor do they exist today, but as a critic as-Subkī noted that



Abū-‘Alī regarded the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) as a little inferior to that of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ).<sup>1</sup>

### I.32 Ibn-Sa‘d

His name was ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Sa‘d. He received the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad and the nisba of the 'cloth-merchant', al-Bazzāz, which was probably his occupation. He was a native of Nishapur and learned traditions there from Abū-‘Abd-‘Allāh al-Būshanjī ( II. K. 1 ), Abū-‘l-‘Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and from other authorities. He became noted as a reliable traditionist and an author of several works on traditions and of some biographies, though their titles are not given by his biographer and they do not seem to have come down to us. He spent his life in Nishapur and died there in 960 at the age of eighty.<sup>2</sup>

### I.33 Abū-Sa‘īd al-Ḥirī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sa‘īd ibn-Ismā‘īl. He was a native of Nishapur and a resident of the quarter of al-Ḥīra. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-‘Amr

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1. Subk., II, 215-16; Khaṭ., VIII, 71-72; Muntaẓam., VI, 396; Shadh., II, 380; al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Tadh., III, 110-112.
  2. Tadh., III, 114; Shadh., 381.

al-Khaffāf ( II. I. 5 ) and Ibn-Shīruwayhi ( II. I. 8 ). He became noted as a reliable traditionist, an ascetic and a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school. It is said that he taught traditions in his native city Nishapur to al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and other masters. He came to Baghdad and the scholars of this city gathered around him and received traditions from him. In 964 he went to jihād and fell in the same year in the battle of Ṭarsūs between the Ḥamdānīd forces and the Greek army, in which the Ḥamdānīd forces were routed. Thus, he died as a martyr at the age of sixty-five. Al-Ḥīrī was the author of the interpretation of the Qur'ān which was entitled at-Tafsīr al-kabīr and a collection of traditions similar to the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) which was also called the Ṣaḥīḥ. None of his works are extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.34 Ash-Shārakī

His name was Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn-Shārah and he received the kunya of Abū-Ḥamid. He derived the nisba ash-Shārakī from the name of his grandfather Shārah.<sup>2</sup> He learned traditions in his native place Herat from Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sāmī, in Nasā from al-Ḥusayn ibn-Sufyān and in

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1. Subk., II, 97-98; Shadh., III, 13.

2. Shārah (or Shārik) was also the name of a small town belonging to Balkh, Lub., II, 4. Ans., f.325a; M B, III, 232.

Mawṣil from Abū-Ya'la al-Mawṣilī. He became renowned as the scholar of Herat and possessed a great knowledge of traditions, jurisprudence and Arabic literature. He was ranked as the muftī of Herat and gave fatwās according to the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence. In 964 he left Herat to make a pilgrimage but he was stopped in Nishapur by the ra'īs of that city, Abū-'Abd-Allāh Ibn-Abī-Dhuhl, who begged him to stay in Nishapur. Ash-Shārakī responded to the request of the ra'īs and stayed there, where he taught traditions to several searchers for traditions notably al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) who included him in his work Ta'rīkh Naysābūr. During the later period of his life he returned to Herat where he died in 965. Ash-Shārakī was the author of al-Mukhraj, whose material was extracted from the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) but this work is lost.<sup>1</sup>

### I.35 Abū-'l-Ḥasan an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Ḥasayn ibn-Manṣūr. He was a native of Nishapur and learned traditions there from Abū-'Abd allāh al-Būshanjī ( II. K. 1 ). He travelled far in the pursuit of learning traditions and went through the countries of Khurasan, Iraq and Jibāl learning traditions from several masters of these countries; among them were Muḥammad ibn-Ayyūb al-Bajalī, Yūsuf ibn-Ya'qūb

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1. Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī quoted by as-Subkī, Subk., II, 98; Shadh., III, 36.

al-Qāḍī and Abū-'Umar al-Qabbāb. In 930 he visited Bukhārā where he dictated traditions to the father and the paternal uncle of al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). In 960 he became blind and he died in 965.

Abū-'l-Ḥasan is regarded as a reliable traditionist and he is also known for his generous donations to the students of traditions: he provided them with an allowance so that they could continue their studies.<sup>1</sup>

### I.36 Ibn-Rumayḥ

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Rumayḥ ibn-'Iṣma. He was a native of Nasā and received the kunya of Abū-Sa'īd. He is regarded as one of the great travellers who travelled through the Islamic world with the purpose of studying and collecting traditions. Among the masters whom he met and learned traditions from during his travels were Abū-Khalīfa al-Ḥajjī, Ibn-Abī-'Alā', 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Zaydān, 'Umar ibn-Baḥīr, Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl as-Samarqandī and Ibn-Qutayba al-'Asqalānī. Then Ibn-Rumayḥ went to Marw where he learned traditions from 'Abd-Allāh al-Marwazī. He came afterwards to Nishapur and learned traditions there from Ibn-Shīruwayhi ( II. I. 8 ) and Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ). He became renowned as a reliable traditionist

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1. Tadh., III, 95; Shadh., III, 17.

and it is said that he taught traditions in Nishapur, Baghdad and Yaman. It is reported by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3) that Ibn-Rumayḥ held an assembly in Nishapur in which he taught the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī (I.A.23) to many masters of Nishapur including al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī himself. It is also reported that the most distinguished traditionist of Baghdad, Dāraquṭnī, learned traditions from him. He died in 967 in the desert, on his way to Ṣa'da in Yaman.<sup>1</sup>

### I.37 Ibn-Maṭar

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Maṭar and he was a native of Nishapur. He received the kunya of Abū-'Amr and he was noted as a profound traditionist and ascetic. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'Amr al-Mustamlī ( I. A. 33 ) and in Rayy from Ibn-Ayyūb ar-Rāzī. He died in 970. Ibn-Maṭar is a scholar who is frequently mentioned in al-Farīsī's biographical work as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh-Naysābūr as the teacher of many Nishapurians, including Abū-Naṣr al-Ḥadhdhā' ( III. Q. 25 ), Abū-'Abd-Allāh as-Sarrāj ( III. Q. 26 ), Abū-'Uthmān az-Za'farānī ( III. Q. 28 ) and Abū-Bakr al-Mushshāṭ ( III. Q. 34 ).<sup>2</sup>

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1. al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Tadh., III, 134-135; Shadh., III, 22.

2. Ibid., III, 29.

## I.38 Abū-‘Alī al-Māsarjisī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-‘Īsā ibn-Māsarjis. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to an eminent scholarly family the Māsarjisīs. His paternal grand uncle, Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥasan ( I. A. 11 ), was noted as a reliable traditionist in Nishapur. Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥusayn was born in 910 in Nishapur, and there he began his studies. He learned traditions from his paternal grandfather Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad and from Ibn-Khūzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Abū-‘l-‘Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21). In the year 933, he started his travels in pursuit of collecting traditions and went to Khurasan, Iraq, Syria and Egypt. He stayed for a time in the last country, collected the traditions which were related to az-Zuhri and composed his famous work on traditions al-Musnad al-kabīr. Then he returned to Nishapur where he held regular assemblies in which he taught his works. He died in 985.

Abū-‘Alī established his reputation as an author of traditions. The above-mentioned work al-Musnad al-kabīr, according to al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), consisted of more than 1300 chapters but Yahya Muḥammad adh-Dhuhli ( I. B. 11 ) who saw the work in the hands of the copyists, thought it was longer and estimated that the work consisted of more than 3000 chapters: he claimed that the work was the largest in Islam. This work is unfortunately lost.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Tadh., III, 134-135; Shadh., III, 22.

## I.39 Abū-'l-'Abbās an-Naḥḥās

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Īsā ibn-al-Jarrāḥ. He received the nisba of "the copper-smith", an-Naḥḥās, which was probably his occupation. He was a native of Egypt. He started learning traditions in his country in 917. Then he went seeking knowledge and travelled widely in the east, passing through Ḥijāz, Iraq, Syria, Khurasan and Qūhistan where he heard traditions and wrote notes from Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī, Abū-'Amr al-Ḥarrānī, Abū-Bakr Ibn-Abī-Dāwūd, Abū-Nu'aym ibn-'Adī, Abū-'l-'Abbās ad-Daghawli and other masters. Latterly he came to Nishapur and settled there but unfortunately he lost most of the notes which he had written during his travels. He began teaching in Nishapur from memory and his lectures were attended by eminent masters of the city notably al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) Abū-'Abd- ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) and al-Baḥīrī ( III. Q. 1 ). He died in Nishapur in 986.<sup>1</sup>

## I.40 Ibn-Ḥamdān

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥamdān ibn-'Alī ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Sinān. He received the kunya of Abū-'Amr. He was a native of Nishapur from the quarter of al-Ḥīra. When young he heard traditions in 907 from the famous mystic of Nishapur Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ). He also

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1. Tadh., III, 190-191; Shadh., III, 88; Mizān., I, 148; see the derivation of the nisba "an-Naḥḥās", Lub., III 216; Ans., f.555a.

learned in Nishapur from Abū-'l-Faḍl Aḥmad ibn-Naḍr (II. I. 3 ) Abū-'Amr al-Khaffāf ( II. I. 5 ), and from others. He travelled in pursuit of learning traditions and visited the cities of Nasā, Gurgān, Mawṣil, Baṣra and Baghdad. His visit to the last city was in 911 and during his stay he read the Musnads of al-Ḥasan ibn-Sufyān and Abū-Bakr ibn-'Alī ibn-Shayba. It is also said that while he was in Mawṣil he read the Musnad of Abū-Ya'la al-Mawṣilī.

Upon his return to Nishapur he dwelt for about 30 years in one of the mosques of the city in which he regularly taught traditions. Among those who attended his lectures and learned traditions from him were al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Nasawī ( III. Q. 44 ), Abū-'Ubayd ash-Shirāzī and Abū-Ṭāhir al-Hamadhānī. In the last years of his life, he became blind and he died in the quarter of al-Ḥīra in 986.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.41 Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Miṣrī

His name was Naṣr ibn-Muḥammad. He was an Egyptian and travelled to the east with the purpose of learning traditions. He learned them during his travels from Abū-Hishām al-Kattānī and Aḥmad al-Qaysarānī in Syria. In Baghdad he learned from

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1. Subk., II, 107; Shadh., III, 88; Ans., f.182b;  
Lub., I, 332; Muntazam., VII, 134.



al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥalīmī (III.S.1) and Abū-ʿAlī aṣ-Ṣaffār. Then he came to Nishapur where he learned traditions from al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). He took the vows of ascetism and taught traditions in this city: among his pupils was al-Ḥākim an-Naysāburī ( II. Q. 3 ). Latterly he went to Transoxiana where he devoted himself to the study of Arabic literature and poetry and joined the Sultanite administration, probably as a secretary. He died there in 996.<sup>1</sup>

#### I,42 Abū-Bakr al-Jawzaqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zakariyyā ibn-al-Ḥasan. He belonged to the village of Jawzaq of Nishapur. He studied traditions under eminent masters of Nishapur such as Abū-ʿl-ʿAbbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ), Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ) and al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). He travelled extensively and heard traditions in Iṣpahan, Gurjān, Hamadān, Sarakhs, Rayy, Baghdad, and Mecca. Among those with whom he had communicated and from whom he received traditions were Abū-Nuʿaym ibn-ʿAdī, Abū-ʿl-ʿAbbās ad-Daghawlī, Makki ibn-ʿAbdān and Abū-Ḥātim ar-Rasfandī. It is said that he spent about 100,000 dirhams during his travels but he did not gain even one dirham from his teachings. In Nishapur he was held in high esteem as a great traditionist and undisputedly the most reliable authority on traditions.

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1. Tadh., III, 206-207: Abū-ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Miṣrī was probably the book-copiest of Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣaffār (II.I.24).

He opened a class in the city in which he taught from his notes and works: among his pupils was al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) who tells us that he wrote down notes from al-Jawzaqī and selected from these notes twenty volumes of useful material. He died in Nishapur in 998 at the age of 82.

Al-Jawzaqī was the author of two collections of traditions, one called al-Muttafiq wa'l-Muftariq and the second called al-Muttafiq al-kabīr. It is said that the latter was taught in Nishapur by Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ). Neither of these two works is extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.43 Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥakim

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was a native of Nishapur and there he learned traditions from Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj (II.I.12) Ibn-Khuzayma (II.K.4) and other masters of the city. Then he went seeking traditions in Iraq, Ḥijāz and Syria, during which time he learned traditions from Muḥammad ibn-Shādhil, al-Bāghandī, al-Baghawī, Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Ghazī, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Zaydān al-Bajalī, Muḥammad ibn-Fayḍ al-Ghassānī, Abū-'Amr al-Ḥarrānī and from their contemporaries. He became noted in Nishapur as the imām of the science of tradition shurūṭ and because of his great reputation he was appointed after 944 as qāḍī of

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1. Subk., II, 169; Shadh., III, 129; Lub., I, 251; Ans., f.142b; al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī quoted by adh-Dhahabī, Tadh., III, 204.

Shāsh. After occupying the office for more than four years, he was appointed again as qādī of Ṭarsūs. In 956 he retired to his native city Nishapur where he spent the rest of his life teaching and writing his works. He died there in 998 at the age of ninety-three. Abū-Aḥmad was one of the most reliable traditionists of his time. He was known as the traditionist of Khurasan. He was also the author of many compilations. The best known in his own time was the book al-Kunā. He also composed collections of traditions: two of them were called the Ṣaḥīḥ, one compiled as a selection from the work of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ ( I. A. 28 ) and the other a selection from the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) but none of his writings now survive.<sup>1</sup>

#### I.44 Abū-Sulaymān al-Khaṭṭābī

His name was Aḥmad<sup>2</sup> ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Khaṭṭāb. He received the nisba al-Khaṭṭābī because he was a descendant of the Caliph 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb. He was born in 925 in Bust of Sijistān. He travelled extensively in pursuit of studying traditions, jurisprudence and literature. He visited Transoxiana, Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz during which time he communicated with and received traditions from al-Aṣamm

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1. Tadh., III, 174-175; Shadh., III, 93.

2. Ath-Tha'alibī calls him Ḥamad ibn-Muḥammad, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 334.

( II. I. 28 ) and his contemporaries in Nishapur, in Baṣra from Abū-Bakr ibn-Dāsa and in Baghdad from Abū-Sa'īd al-A'rābī, Ismā'īl ibn-Muḥammad aṣ-ṣaffār and their contemporaries. He also studied in the last place the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-Hurayra and philology under Abū-'Umar az-Zāhid. Latterly he settled in Nishapur and devoted himself to writing his book Gharīb al-ḥadīth and other works. He died in his native place Bust in 998.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Khaṭṭābī was renowned as one of the great scholars of his time, as a master of traditions and an able poet. He was the author of several works on traditions, criticism and jurisprudence and among the works which are still extant are the following:-

1. Iṣlāḥ ghalat al-muḥaddithīn.
2. Gharīb al-ḥadīth.
3. Kitāb al-'uzla (al-I'tizām)
4. 'Ilm al-ḥadīth.
5. Ma'alim as-sunna.
6. Sha'n al-ad'īya al-ma'thūra.
7. Bayān i'jāz al-Qur'an.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., III, 209-10; Shadh., III, 127; Irsh., II, 81-82; Ans., f.202b; Lub., I, 378-379; Bughyat., 239.
  2. G A L S., I, 275; Nadawī, Tadhkirāt an-nawādir, 40-41. Specimens from his poems are given by Yāqūt and ath-Tha'alibī; Irsh., II, 84-86; Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 335-336.

## III

THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN

THE ḤANAFITES: THE PUPILS OF THE BAGHDADIAN ABŪ-'L-ḤASAN AL-KARKHĪ. THE SHĀFI'ITES: IBN-KHUZAYMA, ABŪ-'ALĪ ATH-THAQAFĪ, ABŪ-'L-ḤASAN AL-BAYHAQĪ, IBN-ḤIBBĀN AND IBN-AL-MUNDHIR. ABŪ-SAHL AṢ-ṢU'LŪKĪ, THE PUPIL OF ABŪ-'L-ḤASAN AL-ASH'ARĪ.

We have already mentioned the formation of the four main Sunnite schools of jurisprudence in Islam and have noted that of all the schools, those of the Ḥanafites and the Shāfi'ites became the main ones in Nishapur. Most of the eminent Ḥanafite jurists who were connected with Nishapur were educated in Baghdad under the tutelage of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 951), the chief of the Ḥanafites in Baghdad. Among his pupils were az-Zujjājī ( II. J. 8 ), Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn ( II. J. 11 ) and Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ ( II. J. 16 ).<sup>1</sup>

Az-Zujjājī was a Nishapurian by birth. As well as being noted as a Ḥanafite jurist of some renown, he was skilled as a lecturer with a supreme ability in conducting assemblies: these were held for him in Nishapur and in them various controversial points of law were debated: during the course of these debates he demonstrated his oratorical brilliance. His classes in Nishapur on the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence were attended by eminent scholars, among them Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ. He was the author of a book entitled ar-Riyāḍ, which is now lost.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See below, (List No.I.A), 608.

2. Jaw., II, 254; Tāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 68.

Abū-'l-Ḥasan an-Naysābūrī, known as Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn, is regarded by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' as "the undisputed master of the people of Abū-Ḥanīfa of his time". His talent as a celebrated jurist was recognised by the officials in Baghdad when he visited that city and debated, in the court of the Vizier 'Alī ibn-'Īsā, with the Shāfi'ite jurists. As a result of his discussions, in which his opinions were favourable to the Vizier, the latter suggested to the Caliph that Abū-'l-Ḥasan should be made the qāḍī of Mecca and Medina. He was appointed and accepted the office and therefore he was known as Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn. However it seems that he spent most of his life away from Nishapur and after an absence of about forty years he came back to Nishapur to retire but he was again reappointed qāḍī of the city. He taught jurisprudence in the city and among his pupils was Abū-'l-Haytham ( III. R. 2 ).<sup>1</sup>

The third eminent Ḥanafite scholar was Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ, who was a pupil of both Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī, in Baghdad, and az-Zujjājī in Nishapur. He became noted as a jurist, a commentator on the Qur'ān and a man of letters. He was brought to Nishapur by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and stayed there for approximately four years during which time he held classes and lectured on jurisprudence. Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' gives a list of his students but none of them appears to have come from Nishapur. Al-Jaṣṣāṣ is the author of books on

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1. Jaw., I, 107-108; Ṭāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 68; see below, (List No.3), 631.

jurisprudence, the interpretation of the Qur'ān and literature, of which four are extant: the most famous of them is his book entitled Aḥkām al-Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup>

The renown of the Chief qāḍī of the Caliph Hārūn ar-Rahīd, Abū-Yāsuf (d. 804), attracted some Ḥanafite scholars from Nishapur to study jurisprudence under him. We may mention particularly Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī ( II. J. 10 ), the head of the most prominent Ḥanafite family in Nishapur. He became renowned as the muftī of the Ḥanafites of Nishapur and members of his family acted later as diplomatic envoys and took up the offices of qāḍā' and the ri'āsa during the period of the Ghaznavid rule.<sup>2</sup>

The Ḥanafites, as we have already mentioned, kept the legal office of qāḍā' among themselves through the patronage of the successive local governments. The Sāmānids, whose seat of government was in Bukhārā, left Nishapur under a ra'īs who carried out the orders of the central government in Bukhārā. Along with his other duties, the ra'īs had to nominate the candidates for the office of the qāḍā' to the governor who selected those who seemed qualified and suitable for this office. The importance of this duty is illustrated by the fact that the ra'īs of Nishapur, Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), nominated candidates chosen from among the Ḥanafite scholars:

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1. Jaw., I, 84-85; Ṭāsh-Kūprē-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 66-67; see below, 237-238.

2. Jaw., I, 129-130; see below, 266-268.

he once nominated three Ḥanafite jurists as candidates for the qaḍā' of Nishapur to the Sāmānid governor, Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad: one of them was al-Buzdāgharī ( II. J. 2 ), who declined the offer and pledged the ra'īs to drop his name from the nomination list: another was Ibn-Salmuwayhi ( II. J. 4 ), who accepted the nomination and thereupon was appointed by the governor as qaḍī of Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

However, the Ḥanafites were favourites of the governors in that they were often chosen to act as their diplomatic envoys. Amongst such men were al-Budaylī ( II. J. 9 ) and Abū-Bakr ash-Shāhūwī ( II. J. 13 ). The first was connected to the court of the Sāmānid general Qaratigin who in 951 sent him as his diplomatic envoy to Nishapur, though we do not know the purpose of his mission. The second was chosen as a member of a diplomatic mission by the Buwayhid Prince of Fārs 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla (reg. 949 - 982): this mission was sent from Fārs to arrange a marriage alliance with the governor of Bukhārā.<sup>2</sup>

The Shāfi'ites were in fact the intellectuals of Nishapur and already in the tenth century the city produced eminent teachers and writers: suffice it to mention, Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī ( II. K. 5 ), Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ) and Ibn-al-Mundhir ( II. K. 3 ).

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1. Jaw., I, 276-277; II, 55; see below, (List No.3), 631; cf. 69-70; on the duties of the qaḍī, see Ibn-Khaldūn, Maqaddima, 19, 184; Schacht, Introduction to Islamic Law, 49-56; Juynboll, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ḳaḍī".

2. Jaw., I, 105; II, 249.



Ibn-Khuzayma was a pupil of Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ). He became noted in Nishapur as the chief theologian of the city and a Shāfiʿite jurist. He was also regarded as the chief of the Shāfiʿites in Nishapur and he occupied the office of raʿīs of the city. It is said that he accepted in his classes students who were regarded as Muʿtazalites in their beliefs and for this reason Abū-ʿAlī ath-Thaqafī disputed with him and declared that Ibn-Khuzayma himself was also a Muʿtazalite. However, from the accounts given by adh-Dhahabī, the allegation made against Ibn-Khuzayma was not true: adh-Dhahabī gives a series of his sayings refuting the allegations and attacking the Muʿtazalite dogmas. As a matter of fact we possess today one of his works, at-Tawhīd wa ithbāt ṣifāt ar-radd, which is directed against the Muʿtazalites, affirming the unity of, and noting the proofs of the attributes of the Deity.<sup>1</sup>

The opponent of Ibn-Khuzayma, Abū-ʿAlī ath-Thaqafī, was the pupil of Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr al-Marwazī ( II. K. 2 ). He was associated with the Malāmīte mystics Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 ) and Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ), and became noted as a jurist as well as a mystic. According to ash-Shaʿrānī, ath-Thaqafī was the one who spread mysticism in Nishapur and, according to as-Subkī, he was the one who introduced dialectics and speculative investigation into Khurasan.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., II, 263-268; Subk., II, 130; A L, 264;

see below, (List No.1), 609.

2. Shaʿ, I, 107; Subk., II, 172-173. See below, (List No.1.B), 609.

Another celebrated scholar Nishapur produced was Ibn-al-Mundhir who spent much of his life in Mecca, where he became noted as the chief jurist of the holy city and received the laqab of Shaykh-al-Ḥaram. We do not know under whom he studied jurisprudence but it is noted that he had dexterity in controversial arguments khilāfiyyat, a subject upon which he wrote many works, including Ikhtilāf al-‘ulamā’ and al-Awsaṭ fi’-s-sunan wa ’l-ikhtilāf; both of these, and three other works, are extant.<sup>1</sup>

One pupil of Ibn-Khuzayma was Ibn-Ḥibbān, a man from Bust in Sijistān, who became well known as a jurist, theologian, and traditionist, as well as a critic. His interest in various fields of study ranged through religions and literature to the natural sciences and philosophy. He took up his first official appointment as qāḍī of Samarqand and it was while he was in that position that, according to adh-Dhahabī, he is related to have said that "the prophethood is a combination of 'science', 'ilm, and 'practice', 'amal, and that one cannot be a prophet, without being a 'scholar', '‘ālim, as well as a 'practitioner', '‘āmil". Accordingly, he was accused by the scholars of Samarqand of being an innovator in religion, in a dispatch which they sent to the Caliph in Baghdad, and in due course the Caliph issued a writ for his execution. However this order was never implemented by the Sāmānid officials because we find him later occupying the qāḍā’ of

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1. I Kh., I, 583; Subk., 126-129; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 52-55.

Nasā. On Ibn-Ḥibbān's second visit to Nishapur, he built a khanqāh in which he taught his works and after his death it was altered into a madrasa. He left a large sum of money to provide his students with regular payment while attending his academic institution.<sup>1</sup>

The earliest academic institution was built in Nishapur in the first half of the tenth century, by a Shāfi'ite scholar known as Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, who was a pupil of Ibn-Khuzayma and was noted as a jurist, a teacher and a muftī of the Shāfi'ites. He built his institution in the quarter of Sayyār in Nishapur and it was named after him the Bayhaqiyya madrasa.<sup>2</sup> Other madrasas were built in the second half of the tenth century in Nishapur such as the madrasas which were built for the Ash'arites Ibn-Furak ( III. T. 1 ) and Abū-Ishāq al-Isfara'īnī ( III. T. 3 ). These were followed by other madrasas but the most important was the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur which was built by Niẓām-al-Mulk (d. 1092) in the second half of the eleventh century for the Ash'arite theologian Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī, known as Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ), in which famous scholars studied under him, such as Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī ( IV. BB. 1 ) and 'Abd-al-Ghāfir-al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tadh., III, 125-127; Subk., 141; M B, I, 616 - 617;

2. I Fun., 158.

3. Shalaby gives an account of the founders of the educational institutes in Islam and provides a list of the teachers of the Niẓāmiyyas, History of Muslim Education, 203-222; See below, (List No.2), 626-630.

The first 'class', ṭabaqa, of Shāfi'ites and other jurists who are classified among the Ash'arite theologians by Ibn-'Asākir flourished in the second half of the tenth century. The most renowned of them was Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ), the nephew of the chief traditionist of Nishapur, Abū-'ṭ-Tayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. I. 22 ). Abū-Sahl, though he came from Iṣṭahān, lived much of his life in Nishapur, where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī. He was the first Nishapuri to have made direct contact with the founder of Ash'arism Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī, because it is reported by Ibn-'Asākir that he met the founder in Baṣra and received lessons from him. Though Abū-Sahl is included among the Ash'arites he was in fact noted as a professor of the science of jurisprudence teaching that science for about 32 years. According to Ibn-Khallikān, Abū-Sahl became the ra'īs of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur, after the death of his uncle.<sup>1</sup>

The Karrāmites, in the second half of the tenth century, were already a sect with a great and influential following in Nishapur. Their leader was Abū-Ya'qūb Ishāq Ibn-Mahmashādh ( II. M. 1 ), whose popularity we have already mentioned. But the chief theologian of the Karrāmites was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muhājir, of whom we know nothing except what the Ash'arite theologian Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd-al-Qāhir al-Baghdādī ( III. T. 5 ) mentions in his work al-Farq bayna al-firaq: he says that in 980-1 Ibn-Muhājir

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1. T K M , 183; Ans., f.352a; Subk., II, 161-162;

See below, (List No.I.B), 610.

held a theological discussion before the Sāmānīd general Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Sīmjūr, with the chief theologian of the Karrāmites of his time, Ibrāhīm ibn-Muhājir, in which they disputed and al-Baghdādī claims that he refuted his opponent's disgraceful errors.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Baghdādī, Al-Farq baya al-firaq., 224-255; see above, 75.

THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN (900-1000)

## J

THE HANAFITES

## J.1 Abū-Bakr al-Jārūdī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-an-Naḍr ibn-Salama ibn-al-Jārūd ibn-Yazīd. He was a native of Nishapur belonging to one of the most wealthy Ḥanafite families in that city. His great grandfather, al-Jārūd (I.B.3), was a pupil of Abū-Ḥanīfa and renowned as an ascetic. Abū-Bakr himself studied jurisprudence under his father. He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Iṣḥāq ibn-Rāḥūya ( I. C. 1 ). Being a wealthy man, he supplied his intimate friend Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) with the means of living and it is said that he accompanied the latter during his travels. He became renowned in Nishapur as imām of traditions as well as jurisprudence. Having full knowledge of Arabic, it is said that he helped in the translation of the works of Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya adh-Dhuhlī ( I. A. 22 ) from Persian into Arabic. It is also said that he taught traditions in Rayy to Abū-Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī, and in Nishapur to Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ) and others. He is mentioned in the Sunan of an-Nasā'ī as a reliable traditionist. Abū-Bakr died in Nishapur in 903.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jaw., II, 138; Tadh., II, 220; Shadh., II, 208;  
I H , IX, 490-491; Ans., f.119a; Lub., I, 203.

## J.2 Al-Buzdīgharī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ziyād ibn-Yazīd. He received the kunya of Abū-‘Abd-Allāh and was known by his nisba Al-Buzdīgharī because he belonged to the village of Buzdīghara of Nishapur. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥarb and Ayyūb ibn-al-Ḥasan (I.B.10). He became a noted Ḥanafite jurist in Nishapur. It is reported that the ra’īs of the city Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) nominated al-Buzdīgharī, with three other scholars, to the Sāmānīd Prince Muḥammad ibn-Isma‘īl for the office of qāḍī of Nishapur. But al-Buzdīgharī seems to have disliked the function of qāḍī and he begged the ra’īs to drop his name from nomination, to which the ra’īs responded. He died in 907.<sup>1</sup>

## J.3 Abū-Yaḥya al-Bazzāz

His name was Zakariyyā ibn-Yaḥya ibn-al-Ḥārith. He was a native of Nishapur who earned his living as a cloth-merchant and therefore received the nisba al-Bazzāz. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). He became one of the noted Ḥanafite jurists of Nishapur and was well-known for his piety. It is reported by al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) in his work Ta’rīkh-Naysābūr that al-Bazzāz composed many compilations on

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1. M B , I, 604; Jaw., II, 55, 288; Lub., I, 119;  
Ans., f.78b.

traditions and that al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī himself taught traditions on his authority. He died in 910.<sup>1</sup>

#### J.4 Ibn-Salmuwayhi

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Salama ibn-Yazīd and he received the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad. He learned traditions in Iraq from the chief of the Ḥanafites there, Muḥammad ibn-Shiyā' and from Yahya ibn-Ṭalḥa al-Yarbū'ī. He became noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and a master of traditions shurūṭ. It is said that he taught traditions in Nishapur and that al-Ḥusayn ibn-Khālīd and the chief of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī ( II. J. 10) learned traditions from him. It is also said that the ra'īs of Nishapur Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) nominated him to the Sāmānid Prince Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl for the office of qāḍī of Nishapur and thereupon he was appointed. He held this office till his death in 910.<sup>2</sup>

#### J.5 Ibrāhīm an-Naysābūrī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sufyān. He was a native of Nishapur and he studied the Ḥanafite system of

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1. Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī quoted by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', Jaw., II, 55.

2. Ibid., I, 276-277.



jurisprudence there under Ayyūb ibn-al-Ḥasan (I. B. 10). He became noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and ascetic. He also mastered the science of tradition and was considered as a transmitter of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). He read that work under the author in 870 and thus became a specialized transmitter of that text. He died in 920-21.<sup>1</sup>

#### J.6 Abū-Ishāq al-Judhāmī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur. His nisba was derived from a tribe in Yaman called Judhām. He studied in Nishapur under the chief of the Ḥanafites Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr al-Labbād ( I. B. 13 ) and Abū-Bakr ibn-Yāsīn. He also extended his studies during his travels to Iraq and Syria where he heard traditions from the masters of both countries but mention is not made of their names. However, al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III. Q. 3) mentions in his Ta'rikh Naysābūr that al-Judhāmī was one of the most distinguished Ḥanafite jurists and ascetics. He taught traditions in Iraq, Khurasan and Syria. Then al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī adds: "I have seen many of his works in the possession of his brother Abū-Bishr and I have seen also in his brother's possession his sound uṣuls." But unfortunately none of al-Judhāmī's works remain; in fact we do not even know their titles. Al-Judhāmī died in Nishapur in 933.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 46.

2. Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī quoted by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', Jaw., I, 44; II, 294; see also the derivation of the nisba "al-Judhāmī"; Ans., f.125a; Lub., I, 215.

## J.7 Ibn-Dīnār

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Dīnār and he received the kunya of Abū-‘Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur and there he read the Musnad of Aḥmad ibn-Salama ( I. A. 34 ) under the author. He also read the Tafsīr of Aḥmad ibn-Naṣr and most of the works of the Ḥanafite Abū-Yaḥya al-Bazzāz (II.J.3). It is related that he used to make the pilgrimage every ten years and go to war every three years. He was held in high esteem by the Ḥanafites of Nishapur as one of the great jurists. He was very conservative in his attitude to the teaching of traditions. Thus, to avoid making mistakes with regard to traditions, he refused to give fatwās to the inhabitants of Nishapur. He died in Baghdad, on his way back from Pilgrimage, in 949.<sup>1</sup>

## J.8 Abū-Sahl az-Zujjājī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur. His nisba az-Zujjājī was probably derived from the skill of glass-making.<sup>2</sup> He studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence in Baghdad under the chief of the Ḥanafites Abū-‘l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. He became noted in Nishapur as a Ḥanafite jurist and as a professor of great ability in

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1. Muntazam, VI, 365; Jaw., II, 66.

2. Abū-Sahl received several nisbas and according to al-Mabsūṭ of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), Abū-Sahl was called az-Zujjājī, al-Faraḍī and some time al-Ghazālī (al-Ghazzālī), al-Ghazālī, al-Mabsūṭ, as quoted by Ibn-Abī-‘l-Wafā’, Jaw., II, 254.

'speculative investigation', naẓar, and dialectics. In theology he is included by Ibn-al-Murtaḍā among the Mu'tazalite intellectuals. It is reported by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' that the Ḥanafite jurists in Nishapur studied jurisprudence under him notably Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ ( II. J. 16 ). He died in Nishapur in 951.

Az-Zujjājī was the author of a book entitled ar-Riyād but, unfortunately, this work has been lost.<sup>1</sup>

#### J.9 Al-Budaylī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Budayl. He derived the nisba al-Budaylī from the name of his grandfather. He was known as al-Ashqar, probably because he was blonde. He was a native of Bukhārā and learned traditions there from Ibn-Abī-'l-Layth. He also learned them in Marw from 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Maḥmūd as-Sa'dī and in Iṣpahan from Aḥmad ibn-Manda. He was renowned as the chief of the people of ra'y, the Ḥanafites of Bukhārā. As-Sam'ānī describes him as a fanatical Ḥanafite. It is reported by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' that al-Budaylī connected his fortune with the Sāmānid general Qaratigin of Isfijāb who in 951 sent him as a diplomatic envoy to Nishapur. Upon his arrival at the latter place he stayed as a guest in the

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1. Jaw., II, 254; Ibn-al-Murtaḍā, Ṭabaqāt al-Mu'tazila, 130; Tāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 68; H Kh., II, 1422.

house of the qāḍī of Nishapur Abū-Muḥammad al-Marwazī  
( II. J. 12 ). Al-Budaylī died in 954.<sup>1</sup>

J.10 Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ḥārūn ibn-Ibrāhīm. His family came originally from the village of Muzn in Samarqand but he himself was a native of Nishapur. He was well-known by his nisba at-Tabbānī or at-Tabbān which derived from his profession of straw-merchant. He studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence in Nishapur under Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Shu'ayb al-Julābādhī and in Baghdad under the qāḍī al-quḍāt of Ḥārūn ar-Rashīd, Abū-Yūsuf. He also received traditions in Nishapur from the Ḥanafites Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-Rajā' al-Buzdīgharī ( I. B. 4 ) Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr al-Labbād ( I. B. 13 ), Al-'Abbās ibn-Ḥamza and from others, in Marw from Yaḥya ibn-Sāmuwayhi ibn-'Abd al-Karīm adh-Dhuhlī and his contemporaries, in Rayy from 'Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Junayd, Muḥammad ibn-Ayyūb and their contemporaries, in Iraq from 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal and his contemporaries and lastly in Ḥijāz from 'Alī ibn-'Abd al-'Azīz al-Baghawī. It is related in the Ta'riḫ Naysābūr of al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), that at-Tabbānī was the chief of the followers of Abū-Ḥanīfa and their muftī in his time. He died in 960 and al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī

1. Jaw., I, 105; cf. Ibid., II, 287.

himself saw the ceremonies of his funeral which took place in the square of al-Ḥusayn and at which the deceased's son Abū-Ṣādiq ( II. J. 17 ) offered his prayers.<sup>1</sup>

### J.11 Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh. He received the kunya of Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan but he was better known as Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn owing to his post as qāḍī of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn was a native of Nishapur and there he learned traditions from Abū-Yaḥya al-Bazzāz ( II. J. 3 ) and from others. He also studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence under the tuition of Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. According to Ibn-Abī-ʿl-Wafāʾ, Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn became noted in his time as the undisputed chief of the followers of Abū-Ḥanīfa. He was appointed qāḍī of Mawṣil then reappointed qāḍī of Ramla, It is said that he came to Baghdad and attended a legal discussion in an assembly held by the Vizier ʿAlī-ibn-ʿIsā, in which legal opinions were given by the Shāfiʿite jurists and Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn. The Vizier judged in favour of Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn and presented his

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1. Bayhaqī, Taʾriḫ-i Masʿūdī, 198; al-Ḥākim-an-Naysāburī quoted by Ibn-Abī-ʿl-Wafāʾ, Jaw., I, 129-130. for the derivations of his nisba see Ibn-Abī-ʿl-Wafāʾ, under "Tabbānī", Ibid., II, 292; as-Samʿānī, under "Tabbān", Ans., ff. 102b-103a; and Ibn-al-Athīr, under "Tabbān", Lub., I, 168. There were members of the Tabbānī family who connected their fortune with the Ghaznavid rulers and became famous as jurists, qāḍīs and diplomats amongst whom were Abū-Ṣāliḥ at-Tabbānī, Abū-Ṣādiq at-Tabbānī and Abū-Ṭāhir, see below, 266-268, cf., Bos., 177-178.

legal opinion to the Caliph who awarded him the qaḍā' of Mecca and Medina. Then he retired and after forty years of absence from his native city, he returned to Nishapur in 947, where later, in the year 956 he was appointed qaḍī. He died in Nishapur in 962.<sup>1</sup>

#### J.12 Abū-Muḥammad al-Marwazī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Uqba. He was a Ḥanafite jurist from Marw. In 948 he came to Nishapur and replaced Yaḥya ibn-Manṣūr as qaḍī to Nishapur. He stayed in his judicial office until he was forty, then he was replaced by Qaḍī-al-Ḥaramayn ( II. J. 11 ), in 956. Afterwards he went to Bukhārā where he died in 964.<sup>2</sup>

#### J.13 Abū-Bakr Ash-Shāhūwī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Shāhūwī. He was a man from Fārs and there he learned traditions from Abū-Khalīfa al-Jamḥī and Yaḥya ibn-Zakariyyā as-Sāji. He became noted in Fārs as a great authority on jurisprudence and mathematics. It is said that he came and settled for some time in Nishapur, then he went to Bukhārī. In the latter place he lectured in the madrasa of the Ḥanafite scholar, Abū-

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1. Jaw., I, 107-8; Shadh., III, 7-8; Ṭash-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 68.

2. Jaw., II, 23.

Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr.<sup>1</sup> Afterwards he returned to Fārs where he was appointed qāḍī. When the Buwayhid prince 'Aḍud-ad-Dawla wished to make a marriage alliance with the governor of Bukhārā, Ash-Shāhūwī was chosen, with other envoys, to arrange this. Having accomplished his duty in Bukhārā he came to Nishapur where he settled and taught traditions. Among the Nishapurians who learned traditions from him was al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). He died in Nishapur in 972-73.<sup>2</sup>

#### J.14 Abū-Sa'īd as-Sijzī

His name was al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Khalīl ibn-Mūsā ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Sijistān. Then he lived in Herat. In 969 he came to Nishapur where he heard traditions from the Shāfi'ite scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He also heard traditions during his travels to Fārs, Iraq, Syria and Ḥijāz, notably from the Iraqi Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī. He became noted as one of the imāms of the Ḥanafites and was appointed as qāḍī of Samarqand. He held his post till his death, which occurred in 978. In addition to as-Sijzī's reputation as a Ḥanafite jurist and a reliable traditionist he was also noted as an able poet. His poem the dāliyya praising the Imām Abū-Ḥanīfa, with specimens of his other poems, are given by Yāqūt and Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā'.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr was the leader of the Ḥanafites in Bukhārā and contemporary to al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ). It is said when the latter came to Bukhārā and gave fatwā on certain points of law, Abū-Ḥafṣ stood against him and forbade him from teaching and afterwards forced him to leave Bukhārā, Jaw., I, 67; II, 249.
  2. Ibid., II, 18, 321; Ans., f.328b; Lub., II, 9; Wafī, II, 44.
  3. Irsh., I, 183-184; Jaw., I, 234-235.

## J.15    Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Bukhārī

His name was 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Bukhārā and a resident of the quarter of Kulābādh in that city. His father was for seven years qāḍī of Bukhārā and he himself chose the same career. He was successively qāḍī to the cities of Marw, Herat, Samarqand, Shāsh, Farghāna and Balkh. Then he became qāḍī of Bukhārā and afterwards he was promoted as qāḍī al-quḍāt. It is reported that when al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) visited Bukhārā in 965, Abū-'l-Qāsim was already in the qāḍā' of Bukhārā, but it seems that the people of Bukhārā disliked him because of the allegation that he was a follower of the Mu'tazalite doctrine and they appealed for his dismissal. But Abū-'l-Qāsim seems to have been respected and held in high esteem by the Sāmānid officials, who ignored the appeal by the people of Bukhārā; instead, they transferred him in 967 to be qāḍī of Nishapur. It is said that in this place he taught traditions in 969 and that al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III. Q.3) quoted from his lectures. However Abū-'l-Qāsim did not live in peace in Nishapur. The previous allegation was revived by the people of Bukhārā and his kinsfolk, who followed him to Nishapur. This caused him to relinquish his office and leave Nishapur. He returned to Bukhārā and remained there for the rest of his life without holding any civil or legal office. He died there in 979.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 339.



## J.16 Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ

His name was Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī. He received the nisba ar-Rāzī because he was a native of Rayy but he was better known by his laqab of al-Jaṣṣāṣ 'the plasterer', which was probably his profession. Al-Jaṣṣāṣ was born in 917 at Rayy. At the age of twenty, he started travelling in pursuit of knowledge. In 939 he came to Baghdad where he attended the classes of Abū-‘l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī. Afterwards he left for Aḥwāz but he returned to Baghdad and stayed there in the company of his master. On the advice of his master he left Baghdad for Nishapur accompanied by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3). On his arrival in Nishapur in 951, he heard of the death of his master. Then he had as a second master, in Nishapur, Abū-Sahl az-Zujjājī ( II. J. 8 ) who taught him the system of Ḥanafite jurisprudence. However his second master died in the same year. He stayed in Nishapur for four years then he returned in 955 to Baghdad. He was held in high esteem by the Ḥanafites of Baghdad and was acknowledged as their chief. He taught jurisprudence in Baghdad to persons who later became eminent scholars: among them was the great mathematician Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-Mūsā al-Khwarizmī and the jurists Abū-‘Abd-Allāh Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya al-Jurjānī, Abū-‘l-Faraj Aḥmad ibn-Aḥmad known as Ibn-Salama, Abū-Ja‘far Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad an-Nasafī, Abū-‘l-Ḥasayn Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad az-Za‘farānī and Abū-‘l-Ḥusayn Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad

al-Kamārī. He died in Baghdad in 980.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Jaṣṣāṣ was one of the great authors among the Ḥanafites in his time. He wrote many books on the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence and commentaries on the Qur'ān. The following is the list of his works which are extant:

1. Al-Jāmi' al-kabīr.
2. Kitāb al-uṣūl.
3. Aḥkām al-Qur'ān.
4. Kitāb adah al-Qaḍī.<sup>2</sup>

#### J.17 Abū-Ṣādiq at-Tabbānī<sup>3</sup>

His name was Maṣṣūr ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Hārūn. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the leader of the Ḥanafites there Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī ( II. J. 10 ). He studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence under his father and became skilled in the Ḥanafite doctrine. It is said that he never taught traditions during his life, but he became the shaykh of the Ḥanafites of Nishapur and one of those who were famous for their asceticism and piety. He died in Nishapur in 982, when over sixty-five years of age.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 84-85; Tāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 66-67; The derivation of the nisba "al-Jaṣṣāṣ", see Ans., f.130b; Lub., I, 239.
  2. G A L , I, 178, 181, 204.
  3. There was another member of the Tabbānī family of Nishapur who received the same kunya Abū-Ṣādiq, was noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and became qaḍī al-quḍāt of Khuttal. cf. Bos., 177-178; see below, 267.
  4. Jaw., II, 181.

## J.18      Abū-Naṣr al-Qāḍī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sahl ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Sahl. He was a native of Nishapur known by his laqab al-Qāḍī which was his occupation. He was born in 930 in Nishapur and it is related that while he was a youth he lectured on the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence and gave fatwās. In 956 Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn ( II. J. 11 ) arranged for Abū-Naṣr an assembly in which he dictated and taught traditions. In 993 he came to Baghdad where he taught traditions to the Ḥanafite scholars Abū-'l-Qāsim at-Tanūkhī. He became noted in Nishapur as the chief of the Ḥanafites and acted there as qāḍī. He died in Nishapur in 998.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jaw., II, 117; Khaṭ., III, 227.

## K

THE SHĀFI'ITES

## K.1      Abū-'Abd-'Allāh al-Būshanjī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Sa'īd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Mūsā. He was born in 819 in Būshanj. He travelled widely in pursuit of knowledge, to Iraq, Syria, Ḥijāz and Egypt, and during his travels he received traditions from Yahya ibn-Bukayr, Abū-Ja'far an-Nufaylī, Ismā'īl ibn-Uways, Umayya ibn-Bassām, Yūsuf ibn-'Adī, Sa'īd ibn-Manṣūr and Ibrāhīm ibn-Ḥamza az-Zubayrī. When he visited Baghdad he attended the assemblies on jurisprudence of Dāwūd az-Zāhirī ( I. D. 1 ), and became associated with Ibn-Ḥanbal.

Lastly, he settled in Nishapur where he became connected to the court of the Ṣaffārid governor 'Amr ibn-al-Layth who once awarded him the sum of 700,000 dirhams. He taught traditions in Nishapur to persons who later became celebrated scholars, such as Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ), Ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ) and Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). It is said that al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), although he was older than al-Būshanjī, related in his Ṣaḥīḥ one tradition on al-Būshanjī's authority. When the Ṣaffārid governor was defeated in Nishapur by the Sāmānid forces, al-Būshanjī was afraid for his life because of his connection with the Ṣaffārids and managed to escape to Bukhārā, where he is believed to have died in 902.

al-Būshanjī was one of the most distinguished jurists who visited Nishapur and he was also reputed to be the chief of

the traditionists in his time      There is some disagreement among al-Būshanjī's biographers as to which Sunnite school of jurisprudence he followed. As-Subkī and Ibn-Ḥajar include him among the jurists who followed the Shāfi'ite school. On the other hand, adh-Dhahabī believes that al-Būshanjī followed the Mālikite school of jurisprudence. Ibn-Ḥajar however rejects adh-Dhahabī's statement and supports his opinion by giving verses by Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī. ( III. Q. 48 ) who praises al-Būshanjī as a Shāfi'ite scholar. Undoubtedly as-Subkī's and Ibn-Ḥajar's opinion is correct since there is no evidence that the Mālikite school was represented in Nishapur by individuals or by a group of scholars.<sup>1</sup>

## K.2      Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Marwazī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr. His father was a native of Marw, which obviously accounts for the nisba al-Marwazī. Abū-'Abd-Allāh himself was born in 817 in Baghdad. He grew up in Nishapur, where he appears at first to have been engaged in business as a merchant, and to have travelled extensively on at least two occasions. Upon his return to Nishapur in 873, after one of those long journeys, he took a partner, to whom he entrusted the entire care

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1. I Ḥ , IX, 8-9; adh-Dhahabī's statement quoted by Ibn-Ḥajar, Ibid., IX, 10; Subk., I, 288-290; Tadh., II, 208; Ibn-Abī-Ya'lā, Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 264-265.

of his mercantile concerns while he gave himself up entirely to study and the search for knowledge. He first learned traditions in Nishapur from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) and Yahya ibn-Yahya an-Naysābūrī ( I. A. 5 ). Then he went to Egypt where he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under the pupils of al-Muzanī. On the death in 871 of the muftī of Nishapur Yahya ibn-Muhammad adh-Dhuhli known as Hīkān ( I. B. 11 ), Abū-'Abd-Allāh succeeded him and became the most popular muftī of Nishapur. He was highly favoured and honoured by the governor Ismā'il ibn-Aḥmad who awarded him the sum of 4,000 dirhams as an annual pension for the rest of his life. He became one of the most noted jurists in Khurasan and a profound master of traditions. It is said that he taught traditions in Nishapur and they were delivered on his authority by Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ), Ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ) Ibn al-Akhram (II.I.27) and others. Then Abū-'Abd-Allāh left Nishapur for Samarqand where he spent the remainder of his life and where he died in 906.

Abū-'Abd-Allāh was the author of several works on jurisprudence and was particularly specialized in the writings about the differences of opinions between the Orthodox Caliphs. In one of his works, whose title is not given, he cites certain points of law which illustrate the difference between Abū-Ḥanīfa and the Caliph 'Alī. Another work of his on the khilāf was entitled Kitāb al-qasāma, but none of his writings are now extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 20-24; Tadh., II, 201-203; Khaṭ., III, 215-216; Muntaẓam., VI, 63.

## K.3 Ibn-al-Mundhir

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Mundhir. He received the kunya of Abū-Bakr. He was a native of Nishapur. He travelled through Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz in pursuit of traditions and during this time he heard them from Muḥammad ibn-Maymūn, Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl aṣ-Ṣā'igh, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Ḥakam and from other authorities. He became renowned as a leading Shāfi'ite jurist and as a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur and among those who heard from him was Ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ). Ibn-al-Mundhir left Nishapur and went to Mecca where he spent the greater part of his life. He became known at the latter place as the Shaykh of the Mecca and died there in 922.

Ibn-al-Mundhir was the author of several works about the controversy between the jurists written in quite an original cast. He wrote, too, several works on jurisprudence of which the following are extant.

1. IKhtilāf al-'ulamā'
2. Kitāb al-ijmā'
3. Kitāb al-awsaṭ fī 's-sunan wa'l-ikhtilāf
4. Kitāb al-ishrāf

He was also the author of an interpretation of the Qur'ān which is extant and is entitled:

5. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 583; Subk., 126-129; Tadh., III, 4-5.  
G A L, I, 191; G A L S, II, 977; Nadawī,  
Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 52-53.

## K.4 Ibn-Khuzayma

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-Khuzayma ibn-al-Mughīra ibn-Ṣāliḥ ibn-Bakr. He received the kunya of Abū-Bakr and the nisba of as-Sulamī because he was a descendant of the Arabian tribe of Sulaym. Ibn-Khuzayma was born in 837 in Nishapur. He belonged to one of the wealthiest families in the city and his father possessed big estates and gardens in that city. While a youth Ibn-Khuzayma learned traditions from Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ) Abū-‘Alī al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Īsā al-Māsarjīsī ( I. A. 11 ) and from other masters of Nishapur. He travelled in pursuit of knowledge and visited Khurasan, Iraq, Ḥijāz and Egypt. In the last country he studied the Shāfi‘ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī ( I. C. 2 ). He also attended the discourses which were given by the pupils of al-Muzanī. After spending some years in Egypt, Ibn-Khuzayma came back to Nishapur where he was appointed by the Sāmānid governor Ismā‘īl ibn-Aḥmad as ra‘īs of the city. He became one of the favourite acquaintances of the governor's Vizier Abū-‘l-Faḍl al-Bal‘amī whose court in Nishapur he visited frequently. But Ibn-Khuzayma's teachings in Nishapur gave rise to a disputation between him and Abū-‘Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ) and it is said that the latter accused him of protecting the Mu‘tazalites and propagating their doctrine. However the disputation did not harm Ibn-Khuzayma's reputation as the chief of the Shāfi‘ites and a leading theologian of



Nishapur. He kept his post as ra'īs of the city and replied to ath-Thaqafī's allegations in a series of lectures which are recorded by adh-Dhahabī. He died in Nishapur in 923.

Ibn-Khuzayma was the author of over 140 books on jurisprudence which were known to al-Ḥākim an-Naysāburī (III.Q.3). The titles of these books are not mentioned by any of his biographers and none of them are now extant. In theology he wrote one of the most interesting works against the theological doctrines of the Mu'tazalites and the Jahmites which survives today and is entitled Kitāb at-tawhīd wa ithbāt ṣifāt ar-radd, though it is often called simply Kitāb al-'aqā'id.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.5 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Shu'ayb ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Shu'ayb. He was a native of Bayhaq. He came to Nishapur where he studied jurisprudence under the Shāfi'ite scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He went to Baghdad and continued his studies under Abū-'l-al-'Abbās ibn-Surayj, ... under whom he graduated in the subject of jurisprudence. He became noted as a jurist and a man of letters and became the undisputed muftī of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur. He was highly

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1. Tadh., II, 259-68; Subk., II, 130; Shadh., II, 262; Muntazam., VI, 184; Wafī., II, 196; Ḥ Kh., II, 1075, 1406; G A L, I, 206; G A L S, I, 345; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 63-64.

esteemed and honoured by the Sāmānid officials and it is said that the Vizier Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī offered him the post of qāḍī of Rayy or Shāsh but this he refused. To al-Bayhaqī, Ibn-Funduq attributes the foundation of al-Bayhaqiyya madrasa which he built in the quarter of Sayyār in Nishapur. He died in Nishapur in 935.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.6 Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-wahhāb ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb ibn-'Abd-al-Aḥad. He was a native of Nishapur born possibly about 849, and of Arabian origin, a descendant of the tribe of Thaqif. He studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence in Nishapur under the tuition of Muḥammad ibn-Naṣr al-Marwazī ( II. K. 2 ). He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ), in Rayy from Mūsā ibn-Naṣr and in Baghdad from Aḥmad ibn-Ḥibbān ibn-Malā'ib and Muḥammad ibn-al-Jahm as-Siwārī and others.

It is said that in Nishapur he met the Malāmīte mystics Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 ) and Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ) who probably gave him instruction in mysticism and then he abandoned his activities as a jurist and theologian and took the vows of mysticism. His retirement was made possibly before the year 883. He died in Nishapur in 939.

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1. Subk., II, 164; I Fun., 158.

Ath-Thaqafī mastered all the sciences concerning the religious law. It was he who introduced the sciences of 'dialectic', jadāl, and 'speculative investigation', naẓar, into Khurasan and it was he who led the theological argument against Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) and his followers. It is also said that he was one who contributed greatly to the spread of mysticism in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.7. Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣibghī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was generally known as aṣ-Ṣibghī owing to his profession of dye-merchant. Like many other scholars who followed this profession aṣ-Ṣibghī used to compound dyes in his own shop in Nishapur from formulae known only to himself. Aṣ-Ṣibghī was the disciple of Abū-Ḥāmid ibn-Asharqī ( II. I. 21 ) from whom he learned traditions and under whom he probably studied the Shāfiʿite system of jurisprudence. He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-ʿAmr al-Ḥirī ( II. I. 17 ), in Rayy from Ibn-Abī-Ḥatīm and in Baghdad from Ibn-Mukhallad and al-Maḥāmili. Then he became noted as imām of jurisprudence and traditions in Nishapur. He gave lectures in his shop in Khān —

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1. Subk., II, 172-173; Shadh., II, 315; Shaʿ., I, 107.

Makkī in the square of the Kirmanīs. It is said that al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) quoted in his work Ta'rikh Naysābūr four traditions on the authority of aṣ-Ṣibghī. He died in 955.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.8      Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī

His name was Ḥassān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Anbasa ibn-Sa'īd ibn-al-'Āṣ. He was a native of Nishapur and a descendant of the Arabian tribe of Quraysh. His ancestor al-'Āṣ was the Companion of the Prophet. Al-Qurashī was born in 883 in Nishapur and there he learned traditions from Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Būshanjī ( II. K. 1 ). In 917 he went to Baghdad where he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-'l-'Abbās ibn-Surayj. Then he became noted as the jurist who spread jurisprudence in Khurasan. It is said that he gave lectures in his madrasa in Nishapur and taught traditions to Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī ( III. S. 6 ) Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) and others. It is also said that al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) delivered traditions on al-Qurashī's authority and that he mentioned him in his work Ta'rikh Naysābūr and stated that al-Qurashī compiled traditions for the uses of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence and that he also compiled

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1. Ans., f.349b; Lub., I, 73; al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī is quoted by as-Subkī, Subk., II, 168.

a collection of traditions whose materials are derived from the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim. However none of al-Qurashī's works are now extant. He died in Nishapur in 960.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.9 Ibn-Ḥibbān

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ḥibbān ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥibbān ibn-Mu'ādh ibn-Ma'bad ibn-Suhayd ibn-Hudba ibn-Murra ibn-Sa'd ibn-Yazīd ibn-Murra ibn-Yazīd ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Dārim ibn-Ḥanẓala ibn-Mālik ibn-Zayd ibn-Manā ibn-Tamīm. He received the kunya of Abū-Ḥātim and he was an Arab, a descendant of the tribe of Tamīm. He was born at Bust in Sijistān. At one time, he held the office of qāḍī of Samarqand, from which he was expelled on a charge of heresy for having defined the prophethood as a combination of the 'ilm and 'amal. For this reason the Caliph at Baghdad issued an order for his execution but the local officials respected and highly esteemed Ibn-Ḥibbān for his talent and learning and they seem to have ignored the Caliph's order and reappointed Ibn-Ḥibbān as qāḍī of Nasā. It is reported that Ibn-Ḥibbān visited Nishapur twice: once in 945, when he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under the tuition of Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), and then in 948, when he taught his works in a khānqāh which he built with

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1. Subk., II, 191; Muntazam., VI, 396; Tadh., 103-104; Shadh., II, 386; Ans., f.446b; Lub., II, 253; H Kh., II, 873.

his own money. It is reported by al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) that Ibn-Ḥibbān provided the students of his khānqāh with allowances. If this is true he could be the first in Islam to have done so. However Ibn-Ḥibbān stayed in Nishapur for about three years only and in 951 he departed for Samarqand, where he had previously held the office of qāḍī, and died there in 965.

Ibn-Ḥibbān was one of the most brilliant intellects of his time and was deeply versed in jurisprudence, theology, traditions, astronomy, medicine and literature. He was also the author of several works dealing with various branches of science and ethics, of which the following are now extant:-

1. Kitāb at-taḡāsīm wa'l-anwā'
2. Kitāb ath-thiqāt
3. Kitāb at-ta'rīkh wa'l-majruḥīn min al-muḥaddithīn
4. Mashāhīr 'ulamā' al-amṣār
5. Kitāb al-'aẓama
6. Rawḍat al-'uqalā' wa-nuzhat al-fuḍalā'
7. Mukhtaṣar fi'l-ḥudūd
8. Asmā' aṣ-ṣaḥāba.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 141; Tadh., III, 125-127; Shadh., III, 16; Lub., I, 122; Ans., f.80h; al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī quoted by Yāqūt, M B., I, 616-617; Wafī., II, 317; Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ibn Ḥibbān", G A L S, I, 273-4; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 90-92; a list of his works is given by Ḥajjī-Khalīfa which consists of 10 of Ibn-Ḥibbān's works. Some of them are identical to titles given by Brockelmann, H Kh., I, 38, 88, 277, 463, 521, 525; II, 1075, 1096, 1400, 1407.

## K.10 Muḥammad al-Qurashī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ḥassān. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the famous jurist Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). He studied jurisprudence under his father. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'l-'Abbās Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ), Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Māsarjisī and al-Mu'ammal ibn-al-Ḥasan. He is said to have fasted for about thirty years. He died after an accident when he was kicked by his donkey and fell in a well. His body was carried to Nishapur where he was buried beside his father. This was in 977.

Al-Qurashī composed a work on jurisprudence called ar-Radd 'alā kitāb ar-riyāda which is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

## K.11 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Arūḍī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥasan. His nisba al-'Arūḍī is according to as-Sam'ānī and Ibn-al-Athīr derived from the 'science of prosody', 'ilm al-'arūḍ. But Abū-'l-Ḥasan was a jurist born in Nishapur where he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī ( II. K. 5 ), the professor of the Bayhaqiyya madrasa. He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'Amr al-Ḥirī ( II. I. 17 ) and al-Mu'ammal ibn-al-Ḥasan

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1. Subk., II, 143.

and in Sarakhs from Abū-'l-'Abbās ad-Daghawlī. For some years he was a professor in Nishapur and reputed to be one of the most distinguished Shāfi'ite jurists but in the latter period of his life he gave up lecturing and he died in retirement in 981.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.12 Ḥusaynak

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya. He received the kunya of Abū-Aḥmad and he was an Arab and a descendant of the tribe of Tamīm. Ḥusaynak was a native of Nishapur, born into a wealthy family, but being an orphan he was taken care of by the ra'īs of Nishapur Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He took lessons in Nishapur and learned traditions from Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj (II. I. 12). He accompanied al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) during his travels and it is said that he learned traditions during his travels from 'Umar ibn-Ismā'īl Ibn-Abī-Ghaylān, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad al-Daghawlī and others. He became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur and they were delivered on his authority by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī, Abū-Bakr al-Barqānī, Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdhi ( III. X. 13 ) and others.

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1. Subk., II, 245; see the derivation of the nisba

"al-'Arūdī"; Ans., f.389a ; Lub., II, 133.



He was highly favoured by his foster-father Ibn-Khuzayma who proffered him to his sons and it is said that Ḥusaynak acted in Nishapur as deputy ra'īs to his foster father. Ḥusaynak died in Nishapur in 985.<sup>1</sup>

### K.13 . Abū-'l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī

His name was 'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz. He was a native of Dārak, which is believed to be one of the villages which belonged to Iṣpahan. He seems to have come of an intellectual family as it is noted that his father was a leading scholar of Dārak and famous as a traditionist. Ad-Dārakī himself came to Nishapur in 964. He settled there and started taking lessons in jurisprudence and traditions, with Abū-Ishāq al-Marwazī as his teacher of jurisprudence. He became noted as the chief of the Shāfi'ites and was put in charge of the awqāf of Abū-'Amr al-Khaffāf ( II. I. 5 ). He taught jurisprudence in Nishapur for many years, but later he left and went to Baghdad. On his arrival there he began by teaching in the mosque of Da'laḡ ibn-Aḡmad, then he opened a class in the Great Mosque for discussion of points of law. He also gave instruction there to those who aspired to the rank of muftī. It is said that among his pupils in Baghdad was Abū-Ḥamid al-Isfarā'inī who, after the death of his master Abū-'l-Ḥasan

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1. Subk., II, 215; Shadh., III, 84.

al-Marzubānī, studied jurisprudence under ad-Dārakī. He died in Baghdad in 986 aged over seventy years.

Ad-Dārakī was a jurist who followed in many instances a method purely his own when giving legal opinion. His decisions were occasionally completely opposed to those of the two Imāms ash-Shāfi'ī and Abū-Ḥanīfa; he would for example quote a tradition and trace it back to the Prophet, after which he would observe that it was better to follow the traditions than the opinions offered by either of the two Imāms. In theology ad-Dārakī is suspected by Ibn-Khallikān of holding the views of the Mu'tazalites. This is probably incorrect because of his conservative attitude towards jurisprudence and no doubt therefore to theology.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.14 Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭarā'ifī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl. He was a native of Nishapur and a merchant who traded in fine manufactures of wood. He studied jurisprudence in Nishapur in his old age under Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and afterwards he learned traditions from Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ) and from the latter's contemporaries. He died in Nishapur in 988 at the age of eighty-seven.

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1. I Kh., I, 370; Shadh., III, 85; Subk., II, 240; M.B., II, 524; Ans., f.217b; Lub., I, 404; Muntaẓam., VII, 113; Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa'l-lughāt, II, 263-264.

## K.15 Ibn-Najjār

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamdūn ibn-Najjār. He received the kunya of Abū-'l-Faḍl and was a native of Bukhārā. He came to Nishapur where he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-Ḥamid ibn-ash-Sharqī ( II. I. 21 ) and Makkī ibn-'Abdān, in Sarakhs from Abū-'l-'Abbas ad-Daghawlī, in Baghdad from Ismā'īl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-aṣ-Ṣaffār and in Mecca from Abū-Sa'īd ibn-al-A'rābī. He became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and at the time of his teacher al-Qurashī, he presided over assemblies in which he gave lectures and it is said that in 950 his teacher advised the scholars of Nishapur to seek advice from Ibn-Najjār if any problem arose among them concerning legal opinions. In the last three years of Ibn-Najjār's life, he became blind and deaf and lost his reason. He died in 991.<sup>1</sup>

## K.16 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjisī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Sahl ibn-Muṣliḥ. He was a native of Nishapur and was related to the Māsarjisī family. His maternal uncle Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn-'Īsā ( I. A. 11 ) was a distinguished scholar in Nishapur and his nephew studied jurisprudence under him. In 941 al-Māsarjisī became a pupil of Abū-Ishāq al-Marwazī whom he

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1. Subk., II, 239.

accompanied to Egypt and with whom he remained until the latter's death. While in Egypt he is said to have acquired judicial knowledge from the disciples of the Shāfi'ite scholar al-Muzanī and Yūnus aṣ-Ṣafadī. He left Egypt for Baghdad where he became assistant and deputy to the professor of jurisprudence Abū-Hurayra. In 955 he returned to Nishapur. Later he opened courses in Nishapur in which he gave lectures on jurisprudence which were attended by the jurists of the city. It was in Nishapur that he taught jurisprudence to the famous Shāfi'ite jurist Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī ( III. S. 12). He is reported as having died in 994 in Nishapur, aged about seventy-six.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.17 Al-Khatan

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Ibrāhīm. He received the kunya of Abū-'Abd-Allāh, and he was generally known as al-Khatan because he was the son-in-law of the Gurgānian scholar Abū-Bakr al-Isma'īlī. Al-Khatan was born in 926 either in Astarābādh or Gurgān. He studied jurisprudence in Astarābādh under Abū-Nu'aym. In 950, he went to Iṣṭāḥān where he studied Abū-Dāwūd's Musnad under 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ja'far. In 951 he came to Nishapur where he remained for two years, studying the books of the notable

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1. I Kh., I, 581; Shadh., III, 110; Ans., f.501a;  
Lub., III, 83; Wafī., IV, 115.

scholars of the city. Then he went to Iraq, when he was over forty years of age; he wrote a number of books there. In 979, he again visited Nishapur and remained there for a time, during which period he taught traditions and attended the assembly of Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ). In 987 it is said that he held an assembly in Nishapur in which he taught and dictated traditions. His death is recorded in 996 in Gurgān.

Al-Khatan was renowned as a Shāfi'ite jurist and reliable traditionist. He was also celebrated as an authority on the reading of the Qur'ān, on 'speculative investigation', nazar and on 'dialectic', jadāl. He was also the author of a commentary on the Talkhīṣ of Ibn-al-Qaṣ which is lost.<sup>1</sup>

#### K.18 Abū-Muḥammad al-Māhānī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ḥamid ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Alī ibn-Rustam ibn-Māhān. He was the son of a wealthy merchant from Iṣpahān, though he himself was born and brought up in Nishapur. He studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī ( II. K. 5 ) and theology under Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ). He went to Baghdad where he attended the

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1. Subk., II, 143-144; I Kh., I, 582; Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa'l-lughāt, II, 255; Shadh., III, 120; Ans., f.189a; Lub., I, 345.

classes of Abū-Hurayra on jurisprudence. He became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and died in Nishapur in 998, at the age of eighty-three.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 229; Ans., f.504b; Lub., III, 91.

THE ASH'ARITES: (SHĀFI'ITES WHO WERE ASH'ARITE IN THEOLOGY)

L.1 Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān ibn-Hārūn ibn-'Īsā ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Bishr. The nephew of the great traditionist Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. I. 22 ), Abū-Sahl was born in Iṣpahan in 908-9. While still a boy he came, in 917, to Nishapur where he settled. He studied traditions under Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ), Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and under other masters of the city. Then he studied jurisprudence under the famous Shāfi'ite scholar Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ). In 924 he attended the court of the Vizier Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī in Nishapur and in the course of the year 933 he went to Iraq in pursuit of knowledge. He came to Baṣra, where he attended the theology classes of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī. He was later recalled to Iṣpahan where he appears to have taught for some years until 948 when, on learning of the death of his paternal uncle Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib, he left secretly for Nishapur, to take his uncle's place as chief of the Shāfi'ite sect of Nishapur. In this city he held regular assemblies in which he discussed various points of law. He spent the rest of his life in Nishapur acting as the chief of the Shāfi'ites, a professor of jurisprudence and a muftī of the city, until his death in 980.

Abū-Sahl was generally renowned as a Shāfi'ite jurist and one of the foremost men in Nishapur who had the privilege of studying theology under the founder of Ash'arism, Abū-'l-Ḥasan

al-Ash'arī. Abū-Sahl was also celebrated as commentator of the Qur'ān, a poet and a man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

## L.2 Abū-Zayd al-Marwazī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Marw. He came to Nishapur several times to study jurisprudence. His last visit to Nishapur is dated 965, on his way to make the pilgrimage. He stayed in Mecca seven years where he taught the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī (I. A. 23). Afterwards he came to Baghdad where he taught traditions in al-Farbalī's mosque. Then he returned to his native city Marw where he died in 981.

Al-Marwazī is included by Ibn-'Asākir among the early Ash'arites; the same writer also alleged that al-Marwazī was one of the most eminent teachers of Shāfi'ism. However we have no information about his teachers in either theology or jurisprudence nor about his pupils.<sup>2</sup>

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1. T K M, 183; I Kh., I, 582; Subk., II, 161-162; Shadh., III, 69-70; Ans., f.352a; Lub., II, 55; Naf., 312; Wafī., III, 124; Miftāḥ., II, 177; Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asma' wa'l-lughāt., I, 241-243.

2. T K M, 188.



## L.3      Abū-Manṣūr an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Ḥamshādh. He was born in Nishapur in 928. He travelled widely to Khurasan, Iraq, Ḥijāz and Yaman in pursuit of knowledge. He studied jurisprudence in Khurasan under ‘Alī ibn-al-Walīd and in Baghdad under the famous Shāfi‘ite scholar, Abū-Ḥurayra. He also studied theology in Nishapur under Abū-Sahl al-Khalīlī, Abū-‘Amr az-Zardī (II. P. 2 ) and Abū-Ḥamid al-Khārzanjī (II. P. 3). He died in Nishapur in 998.

Abū-Manṣūr is primarily regarded by Ibn-‘Asākir as a Theologian and a jurist. He was also noted as a man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

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2. T K M , 199.

THE LEADER OF THE KARRĀMITE SECT

M.1 Abū-Ya'qūb az-Zāhid

His name was Ishāq ibn-Mahmashādh. He received the nisbas az-Zāhid and al-Karrāmī, the former because he was an ascetic and the second probably because he was the leader of the Karrāmite sect. Az-Zāhid was a native of Nishapur, where he spent most of his life. He studied traditions there under Abū-'l-Faḍl at-Tamīmī. He related a tradition which says, "At the end of time, a man called Muḥammad ibn-Karrām ( I. E. 1 ) will come and through him the Sunnite religion will be revived". Certainly this tradition without isnād is firmly rejected by Sunnite scholars. Adh-Dhahabī regards this tradition as "invented" and he also claims that Abū-Ya'qūb related many such traditions in his works on Karrāmism. Being a fierce preacher his biographers attribute to him the conversion to Islam of over 5000 People of the Book and Zoroastrians in Nishapur.

Abū-Ya'qūb, who had an influential and strong following in Nishapur, attracted the attention of the general Sebūgtigin when he was in Nishapur and the general held him in favour. It is even said that he converted the general to a belief in Karrāmism. Abū-Ya'qūb died in Nishapur in 993. His funeral was attended by innumerable crowds of people led by the notables of the city. On his death his son Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ) succeeded him as the leader of the sect.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Mizān., I, 200; Shadh., II, 104; Ans., f.477a; Lub., II, 32; 'Utbi, at-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī, II, 310; Jurbādhqānī Tarjuma-yi ta'rikh-i Yamīnī, 254; cf. Bos., 186; Bosworth, "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan," M W, L (1960), 8.

THE MYSTICS

ABŪ-‘UTHMĀN AL-ḤĪRĪ AND HIS PUPILS: THE ATTITUDE  
OF THE SCHOOLS OF JURISPRUDENCE TOWARDS MYSTICISM

We have already mentioned that Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ) was credited with having spread the teachings of the Malāmite path in Nishapur and the one who later continued this work was the most distinguished mystic in Nishapur Abū-‘Uthmān al-Ḥīrī (II.N.2). The latter studied in Rayy the doctrine of 'hope', raja', under Yahya ibn-Mu‘ādh ar-Rāzī ( I. F. 4 ); in Kirmān he joined the company of the mystic Shāh-Shujā‘ ( II. N. 1 ) and in Nishapur he studied the Malāmite doctrine under Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 ). He is also reported to have made the acquaintance of the most famous mystics of Baghdad, al-Junayd and Ruwaym. After the death of his teacher, Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād, he became noted in Nishapur as the chief of the Malāmites and he was duly honoured by the scholars of that city, who built for him a pulpit from which he could preach to them on mysticism. Numerous students from Khurasan studied mysticism under him and among his pupils in Nishapur were Maḥfūz an-Naysābūrī ( II. N. 3 ), Abū-‘l-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq ( II. N. 5 ), al-Murta‘ish ( II. N. 6 ), Ash-Sha‘rānī ( II. N. 9 ), Ibn-Bundār ( II. N. 10 ) and Ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ).<sup>1</sup> Of

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1. Kashf., 134; see below, (List No.I.D), 620; see above, 95-96.

these, Maḥfūz an-Naysābūrī and Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq are known to have followed the Malāmīte teachings. A contemporary of Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī was Ibn-Munāzil ( II. N. 7 ), the pupil of Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār, who also became noted as the chief of the Malāmītes in Nishapur. He is said to have possessed a new path of mysticism which was unknown to others.<sup>1</sup>

After the death of Ibn-Munāzil, however, there is no trace of the Malāmītes in Nishapur, though as-Subkī reports that Ibn-Najīd, whom we mentioned above as a pupil of Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī, was a follower of the Malāmīte path. As-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ), who was the pupil and the nephew of Ibn-Najīd, mentions that his uncle formed a path of mysticism of his own and gives no indication that he was a Malāmīte. It should be remembered, however, that as-Sulamī himself probably wrote his Risāla on the Malāmītes from information which he had received from his uncle.<sup>2</sup>

According to al-Hujwīrī, another mystic from Nishapur, Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādī ( II. N. 12 ) was living like a King of the mystics in the city. He was a pupil of Ibn-Munāzil but there is no evidence that he studied the Malāmīte doctrines under him. However he became noted as the chief of the mystics in the whole of Khurasan.<sup>3</sup>

It may be interesting at this stage to mention the respective attitudes of the two dominant schools of jurisprudence in Nishapur, the Ḥanafīte and the Shāfi'ite,

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1. Sulam., 376; Sha'., I, 107.

2. As-Sulamī quoted by as-Subkī, Subk., II, 189; Sha', I, 120; cf. 96.

3. Kashf., 159.

towards mysticism. No attempt, however, could be made to generalize about these attitudes and we have only taken examples of those scholars who are known to have belonged to one or the other of these schools and also to have been noted as mystics. We have already mentioned certain ascetics and mystics who were associated with the Ḥanafite school. The famous philosopher and mystic al-Ḥakim Abū-ʿAbd-Allāh at-Tirmidhī ( I. F. 7 ) is said to have studied jurisprudence under a Ḥanafite jurist.<sup>1</sup> Yaḥya ibn-Muʿādh ar-Rāzī ( I. F. 4 ) is said to have related fine sayings to the doctrine of Ḥanafism.<sup>2</sup> But from the tenth century onwards, there is no mention of any mystic who could be regarded as a Ḥanafite in faith, and indeed in the eleventh century there is some evidence of a distinct antagonism in Nishapur between certain followers of the school, such as the qāḍī of Nishapur Ṣāʿid ( III. R. 6 ), and the followers of mysticism, such as Abū-Saʿīd ( III. V. 5 ).<sup>3</sup> On the other hand we notice that the general attitude of the Shāfiʿites towards mysticism, as far as Nishapur is concerned, is sympathetic. During the tenth century, not only Ibn-Najīd was noted as a Shāfiʿite in jurisprudence, but also Abū-ʿAlī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ), who was well known as a jurist and a mystic and was associated with the Malāmīte mystics, Hamdūn al-Ḡaṣṣār and Abū-Ḥafṣ

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1. Kashf., 141.

2. Ibid., 94.

3. See below, 397 - 398.

al-Ḥaddād. Suffice it to mention that Ash-Shaʿrānī attributes to ath-Thaqafī the spread of mysticism in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup> In the eleventh century, most of the leading mystics in Nishapur were Shāfiʿites, such as Abū-ʿAlī ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ), Abū-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) and Abū-ʿAlī al-Fārmadhī ( III. V. 11 ). On the other hand some of the Shāfiʿites who were distinguished in Ashʿrite theology were also noted as mystics, such as the eminent scholar Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ), the author of the famous Risāla on mysticism, and the most distinguished thinker and mystic in Islām, Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), the author of the well-known book Iḥyāʾ ʿulūm ad-dīn.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Shaʿ., I, 107.

2. See below, 557, 559.

## N

THE MYSTICS (900 - 1000)

## N.1 Shāh-Shujā' al-Kirmānī

His name was Shāh-Shujā' and his kunya was Abū-'l-Fawāris. He was a native of Kirmān and of royal descent. He was associated in Khurasan with the mystics Abū-Turāb an-Nakhshabī, Abū-'Abd-Allāh adh-Dharrā' and many others. In Kirmān he directed a mystic society to which Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ) was admitted as a member. He came with his disciple al-Ḥīrī to Nishapur on a visit to the Malāmite mystic Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (I. F. 5 ). He conversed with the latter and then he left Nishapur, leaving his disciple behind him, and returned to Kirmān. He probably died in 902.

Shāh-Shujā' was a mystic, philosopher and author. He composed a treatise on mysticism as well as a book entitled Mir'āt al-ḥukamā' but neither work remains.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Kashf., 138; Sha'., I, 96; Sulam., 183; Abū-Nu'aym, Ḥilyat al-awliyā', X, 237-238; Mustawfī alone records the date of his death in 902, while Jāmī records it sometime between the year 883 and 912-13, Mustawfī, Ta'rikh-i guzīda., I, f. 775; Naf., 85.

## N.2      Abū-‘Uthmān al-Ḥirī

His name was Sa‘īd ibn-Ismā‘īl. He was a native of Rayy who settled in the al-Ḥīra quarter of Nishapur and from this quarter he derived his nisba, al-Ḥirī. His detailed biography is recorded in Kashf al-mahjūb of al-Hujwīrī, who tells us on reliable authority that al-Ḥirī said: "In my childhood I was continually seeking the Truth, and the externalists (Ẓāhirites) inspired me with a feeling of abhorrence. I perceived that the sacred law concealed a mystery under the superficial forms which are followed by the vulgar. When I grew up I happened to hear a discourse of Yaḥyā b. Mu‘ādh ( I. F. 4 ) of Rayy, and I found there the mystery that was the object of my search. I continued to associate with Yaḥyā until, on hearing reports of Shāh Shujā‘ Kirmānī ( II. N. 1 ) from a number of persons who had been in his company, I felt a longing to visit him. Accordingly I quitted Rayy and set out for Kirmān. Shāh Shujā‘ however would not admit me to his society. 'You have been nursed' said he 'in doctrine of hope (rajā), on which Yaḥyā takes his stand. No one who has imbibed this doctrine can tread the path of purgation, because a mechanical belief in hope produces indolence'. I besought him earnestly and lamented and stayed at his door for twenty days. At length he admitted me, and I remained in his society until he took



me with him to visit Abū Ḥafṣ ( I. F. 5 ) at Nishapur. On this occasion Shāh Shujā' was wearing a coat (qabā). When Abū Ḥafṣ saw him he rose from his seat and advanced to meet him, saying 'I have in the coat what I sought in the cloak ('abā)'. During our residence in Nishapur I conceived a strong desire to associate with Abū Ḥafṣ, but was restrained from devoting myself to attendance on him by my respect for Shāh Shujā'. Meanwhile I was imploring God to make it possible for me to enjoy the society of Abū Ḥafṣ without hurting the feelings of Shāh Shujā', who was a jealous man; and Abū Ḥafṣ was aware of my wishes. On the day of our departure I dressed myself for the journey, although I was leaving my heart with Abū Ḥafṣ. Abū Ḥafṣ said familiarly to Shāh Shujā', 'I am pleased with this youth; let him stay here'. Shāh Shujā' turned to me and said 'Do as the Shaykh bids thee'. So I remained with Abū Ḥafṣ and experienced many wonderful things in his company."<sup>1</sup>

According to this quotation Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī received mystical instructions from three teachers, first of all, during his stay in Rayy, he learned from his master Yahya ibn-Mu'adh ar-Rāzī the doctrine of rājā', which was adopted by the malāmīte mystics. His association with and discipleship under Shāh-Shujā' was important because he was admitted for the first time to the mystic society in which

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1. The account of al-Hujwīrī as it is translated by Nicholson, Kashf., 132-133; according to Jāmī al-Ḥīrī went with Shāh-Shujā' to Marw then he came to Nishapur, Naf., 86.

he learned more deeply and practiced the mystic way of life. His third teacher Abū-Ḥafṣ was the most important because al-Ḥirī was his disciple for the rest of his teacher's life and learned from him the Malāmite path in which he became later the most authoritative mystic. His association with Abū-Ḥafṣ was not only spiritual and educational but social also. He lived in his teacher's house and then married his teacher's daughter. He probably visited Baghdad during the lifetime of his teacher and probably with him. He met the city's most famous mystics al-Junayd and Abū-Muḥammad Ruwaym and held conversations with them. Al-Ḥirī died in Nishapur in 910.

Al-Ḥirī was acknowledged by the Malāmite mystics as their chief and to him was due the spread of mysticism in Nishapur and Khurasan. There is no doubt that most of the seekers of mysticism in his time derived spiritual advantage from his directorship. Among his disciples were: Maḥfūẓ an-Naysābūrī ( II. N. 3 ), al-Murta'ish ( II. N. 6 ) and Ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ).<sup>1</sup>

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1. Kashf., 134; Sha'., I, 86; Sulam., 159; Shadh., II, 230; Munāwī., al-Kawākib ad-durriyya, I, 233-234; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyāt al-awliyā', X, 244-246; Naf., 86; See below, (List No.I.D), 620; See above, 222.

## N.3 Maḥfūz an-Naysāburī

His name was Maḥfūz ibn-Maḥmūd. He was a native of Nishapur and one of the mystics who followed the Malāmite path. He had as a spiritual director Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 ) and when his director died in 883 he became a disciple of Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī ( II. N. 2 ) till the latter's death in 910. It is related that he was associated with Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ), 'Alī an-Naṣrābādhi, Sālim al-Bārūsī and many other mystics. He became noted as a Malāmite mystic and died in Nishapur in 915-916. He was buried beside the tomb of his director Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād.<sup>1</sup>

## N.4 Abū-Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī

His full name is unknown. He was a native of Nishapur and a resident at the quarter of Muwālqābādḥ in that city. He accompanied Abū-Turāb an-Nakhshabī and Abū-Sa'īd al-Kharrāz on their travels to Baghdad, where he met al-Junayd al-Baghdādī. He became noted in Nishapur as a pious man and the best mufti among the mystics. He was well and firmly grounded in the mystical doctrine of 'trust in God', tawakkul. He died in 921.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Sulam., 269; Sha'., I, 100; Naf., 136.

2. Sulam., 328; Sha'., I, 103; Kashf., 146; Naf., 70; Munāwī, al-Kawākib ad-duriyya, I, 205-206.

## N.5      Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Sa'd. His nisba al-Warrāq was, according to as-Sam'ānī and Ibn-Athīr, given to those who took up the profession of copyist or paper-merchant. He was a native of Nishapur and one of the foremost disciples of Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ). His fine sayings were based on the principles of al-Ḥīrī and derived from the Malāmīte doctrine. In jurisprudence he followed the Zāhirite school and displayed great ability in this subject. He was also a scholar who had a great knowledge of commercial transaction. He died about 923.<sup>1</sup>

## N.6      al-Murta'ish

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur known by his laqab al-Murta'ish. He was a wealthy man and the son of a landowner, but he donated all his property and took the vows of mysticism. He had as his spiritual directors Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād ( I. F. 5 ) and Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ). He went to Baghdad and settled there. He became associated with the famous Baghdadian mystic al-Junayd. He became noted as the leading mystic of Iraq. Ash-Sha'rānī reports that the mystics of Baghdad used to say: "The wonders of Baghdad in mysticism are three, the symbolical

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1. Naf., 173; Sulam., 336; Sha'., I, 103; see the derivation of the nisba "al-warrāq", Ans., f.579b; Lub., III, 266.

utterances', ishārāt, of ash-Shiblī, the 'revelations', mukāshafāt, of al-Murta'ish and the 'anecdotes', ḥikāyāt, of Ja'far al-Khuldī." Al-Murta'ish died in the Shūnīziyya mosque in Baghdad in 939.<sup>1</sup>

#### N.7 Ibn-Munāzil

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Munāzil. He received the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad and he was a native of Nishapur. He was one of the disciples of Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār ( I. F. 6 ), from whom he learned the Malamite path. It is said he possessed a mystic way of life which was new in his time. He was renowned as one of the mystics who mastered and followed the Ṣāḥirite school of jurisprudence. He was also highly respected and praised by the famous Shāfi'ite divine Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī ( II. K. 6 ). He died in Nishapur in 942.<sup>2</sup>

#### N.8 Abū-'l-'Abbās ad-Dīnawarī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Dīnawar. He was associated with eminent mystics, such as Yūsuf ibn-al-Ḥusayn in Rayy, Ruwaym in Baghdad and al-Kharrāz in Egypt. He came to Nishapur where he met Abū-'Uthmān

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1. Sha'., I, 103; Naf.., 206; Abū-Nu'aym, Hilyat al-awliyā, X, 255-256; Shadh.., II, 317; Ans.., f.220b; Lub.., III, 122.
  2. Sulam.., 376; Sha'., I, 107; Shadh.., II, 330; Naf.., 208.

al-Maghribī ( II. N. 13 ). He preached and taught theology and mysticism in Nishapur. Then he went to Samarqand where he died in 952.<sup>1</sup>

#### N.9 Ash-Sha'rānī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmān. He received the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad and the nisba ar-Rāzī because his family was from Rayy, but he was better known as ash-Sha'rānī which was his laqab and, according to as-Sum'ānī and Ibn-al-Athīr, was given to those who wore long hair. Ash-Sha'rānī was born and brought up in Nishapur. He was the disciple of Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī ( II. N. 2 ) in mysticism. He was also associated in Baghdad with al-Junayd Ruwaym, and Abū-'l-Ḥasan Sumnūn, in Balkh with Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamid and in Jūzjān with Abū-'Alī al-Jūzjānī. He became noted in Nishapur as a mystic as well as a great authority on mathematics and traditions. He died in 964.<sup>2</sup>

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1. According to as-Sulamī and ash-Sha'rānī, ad-Dīnawarī left Nishapur and went to Samarqand where he died in 952, Sulam., 500; Sha'., I, 122; and according to Mustawfī, ad-Dīnawarī went to Samarqand then to Qazwīn, Ta'riḫ-i-guzīda, I, f. 78; but Jāmī states that he went to Tirmidh and then he proceeded to Samarqand where he died in 952, Naf., 144.

2. Naf., 228; Sulam., 472; Sha'., I, 119; see the derivation of the nisba "ash-Sha'rānī", Ans., f.334b; Lub., II, 21.

## N.10 Ibn-Bundār

His name was 'Alī ibn-Bundār ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He received the kunya of Abū-'l-Ḥasan and the nisba of aṣ-Ṣayrafī, which probably designated his occupation of money-changer. He was a native of Nishapur and one of the disciples of the mystic Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī ( II. N. 2 ) who taught him mysticism. Later he was associated with Muḥfūẓ ( II. N. 3 ). He was associated in Baghdad with al-Junayd, Ruwaym and Sumnūn, in Samarqand with Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl, in Balkh with Muḥammad ibn-Ḥāmid, in Jūzjān with Abū-'Alī al-Jūzjānī in Rayy with Yūsuf ibn-al-Ḥusayn in Syria with Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī, Abū-'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Jallā' and Abū-'Imrān ad-Dimashqī and lastly in Egypt with Abū-Bakr al-Miṣrī, az-Zaqqāq and Abū-'Alī ar-Rūdhābarī. It is said that no mystic ever derived as much spiritual advantage from his directors as Ibn-Bundār did. It is also said that he quoted traditions and delivered them and was considered as a reliable authority on this subject. He died in 969.<sup>1</sup>

## N.11 Ibn-Najīd

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Najīd ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Khālīd. He received the kunya of Abū-'Amr. He was a native of Nishapur, of Arabic descent, from the tribe of Sulaym. He studied, probably the Malāmite path, under

1. Sha'., I, 124; Sulam., 533; see the nisba "aṣ-Ṣayrafī" which as-Sam'ānī derives from gold-merchant (money-changer), Ans., f.358b; see also Ibn-Athīr, Lub., II, 66.

Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥīrī ( II. N. 2 ). He went to Baghdad where he met al-Junayd. He became noted as the chief of the mystics in Nishapur in his time. He taught mysticism to his grandson Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( II. V. 2 ) and to Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). It is said that he possessed a mystical path known to himself only, but as-Subkī noted that Ibn-Najīd's path was that of the Malāmīte mystics. He died in Nishapur in 976.<sup>1</sup>

N.12 Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādhī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Maḥmūd. He was born and brought up in Nishapur and was a resident of the quarter of Naṣrābādh. He was associated with Ibn-Munāzil ( II. N. 7 ), Abū-Bakr ash-Shiblī and Abū-'Alī ar-Rūḍhabārī. He became noted at his time as the Shaykh of Khurasan. The scholars are said to have derived from him information about mysticism, history and tradition. In 976 he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and died there in 977.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Naf., 227; Subk., II, 189-190; Sha'., I, 120.

2. Ibid., I, 122; Sulam., 511; Kashf., 159-160.



## N.13 Abū-'Uthmān al-Maghribī

His name was Sa'id ibn-Sallām. He was a native of Qayrawān of Maghrib. He left his native city and settled in Mecca for about ten years, but he was deported from that city by the people there, who accused him of being a heretic. Then he went to Egypt, Syria and Iraq. He spent one year in Baghdad, then settled in Nishapur where he became associated with Abū-'Amr-az-Zujjājī and met Abū-'l-Ḥusayn ad-Dīnawarī and Abū-'Alī al-Kātib. He died in Nishapur in 983. Al-Maghribī is regarded by al-Hujwīrī as an eminent mystic of the class who have attained 'fixity', ahl-i tamkīn, and he was highly versed in various branches of knowledge. He was also noted for his fine sayings and excellent proofs concerning the observations of 'spiritual blemishes', ru'yat-i āfāt.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Naf., 87; Sulam., 505; Sha'., I, 122; Kashf., 158-159.

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN

IBN-<sup>in</sup> IHRĀN

Few scholars in Nishapur were active as readers of the Qur'ān. Among those who are mentioned were Abū-Ḥamid al-Muqri' ( II. 0. 2 ), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḥajjājī ( II. 0. 3 ), Ibn-Mihrān ( II. 0. 4 ) and Abū-'Alī as-Sarakhsī ( II. 0. 5 ). Of those the most profound was Ibn-Mihrān who was a native of Iṣpahan, although he spent much of his life in Nishapur. He read the Qur'ān under several authorities in Baghdad, Damascus and Mecca. In Nishapur he became the pupil of the Shāfi'ite jurist Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ).<sup>1</sup> He is the earliest author from Nishapur to have three works still extant; two of them, ash-Shāmil fi'l-qirā'āt and al-Ghāya fi'l-qirā'āt, deal with different ways of reading the Qur'ān, while the third, Taḥfat al-anām fī tajwīd 'Āṣaf, deals with the art of rendering the Qur'ān as given by an authority called 'Āṣaf.<sup>2</sup>

As far as interpretation of the Qur'ān is concerned, we read about Abū-Zakariyyā al-'Anbarī ( II. 0. 1 ), of whom we know nothing except that he was an authority on the interpretation of the Qur'ān and other subjects.<sup>3</sup> But the most important commentators were the jurists Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ ( II. J. 16 ) and Ibn-al-Mundhir ( II. K. 3 ). The first

1. See below, (List No. I. E ), 623

2. G A L , I, 203; G A L S , I, 330; his complete list of works given by Yāqūt on the authority of al-Ḥakīm an-Naysāburī is mentioned below, 241.

3. Bughyat., 415.

is mentioned above as a Ḥanafite jurist who lived as a teacher in Nishapur for a long time and who according to Huart, was one of the jurists who practised a healthy form of interpretation, basing it solely on what the text really contains. Among his works which are extant is his book Aḥkām al-Qur'ān, of which, according to Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', much of the information is related on the authority of 'Abd-al-Bāqī ibn-Qānī'.<sup>1</sup> The second, whom we have mentioned among the Shāfi'ite jurists, was also noted for his work Tafsīr al-Qur'ān, which has also come down to us, along with another work of his on jurisprudence.<sup>2</sup>

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1. A L , 256; Jaw., I, 85; see above, 177-178.

2. See above, 181.

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN  
(900 - 1000)

0.1            Abū-Zakariyya al-'Anbarī

His name was Yahya ibn-Muhammad ibn-'Anbar. He was an Arab belonging to the tribe of Sulaym. He was a native of Nishapur and there he learned traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥuṣrī, Ibn-Salama (I. A. 34) and other masters of the city. In the later stages of his life, about ten years before his death, he retired to his house, living as an ascetic till his death, which is recorded in 955.

Al-'Anbarī was noted as one of the best scholars in Khurasan who was well acquainted with such subjects as interpretation of the Qur'ān, philology and traditions.<sup>1</sup>

0.2            Abū-Ḥamid al-Muqri'

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Muhammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Fārs. He studied literature in his native place under Abū-'l-Ash'ath and 'Umar ibn-Shu'ba. He came to Nishapur where he stayed as a guest of Abū-Ishāq al-Muzzakī who engaged him to be a tutor to his sons. He resided for the rest of his life in Nishapur and died in 957. Al-Muqri' was renowned as a reader of the Qur'ān as well as an able poet. A specimen of his lāmiyya poem is given by Yāqūt.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bughyat., 415-416; Lub., II, 155; Ans., f.400b;  
Irsh., II, 291.

2. Ibid., I, 375-376.

## 0.3 Abū-'l-Husayn al-Ḥajjājī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Ḥajjāj. He was a native of Nishapur who was known by his nisba al-Ḥajjājī, which he derived from the name of his ancestor, Ḥajjāj. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Ibn Khuzayma (II. K. 4), as-Sarrāj (II. I. 12) and other masters of the city. He came to Baghdad where he read the Qur'ān under Ibn-Mujāhid and learned traditions from 'Umar ibn-Ghaylān, 'Abd-Allāh al-Maydānī and the famous historian aṭ-Ṭabarī. He became noted as an authority on the reading of the Qur'ān and as a reliable traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur and later some of them were related in the works of Ibn-Manda, Abū-'Alī al-Ḥafīẓ (II. I. 31), Ibn-Mihrān (II. O. 4), al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III. Q. 3) and others. Al-Ḥajjājī himself was the author of the 'Ilal in 80 volumes, which is lost, but which he used as a text-book when teaching traditions in his classes. He died in Nishapur in 978, at the age of eighty-three.<sup>1</sup>

## 0.4 Ibn-Mihrān

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Husayn ibn-Mihrān. His kunya was Abū-Bakr. He was a native of Iṣpahan but he

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1. Dhahab., III, 146-147; Khaṭ., III, 223; Shadh., III, 67.

resided in Nishapur. He studied and read the Qur'ān in Baghdad under 'Alī an-Naqqāsh and Abū-Bakr al-Hāshimī, in Damascus under 'Alī ibn-al-Akhram and in Mecca under Qunbul ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmān al-Makki and Abū-'l-Ḥasan an-Nabbāl. It is related that he studied and read many works in Nishapur under the celebrated scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He died in Nishapur in 981.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Mihran was the chief of the readers of the Qur'ān in Nishapur. He was also a copious author and his writings dealt mainly with readings of the Qur'ān its interpretation, philology and grammar. The following is a list of his books:

1. Ash-Shāmil fi'l-qirā'āt
2. Al-Ghāya (or al-Ghāya fi'l-qirā'āt)
3. Tahfat al-anām fī-tajwīd Aṣaf
4. Kitāb qirā'āt Abū-'Amr
5. Gharā'ib al-qirā'āt
6. Wuqūf al-Qur'ān
7. Al-Infirād
8. Sharḥ al-mu'jam
9. Sharḥ at-tahqīq
10. IKhtilāf adab an-Nūr
11. Ru'ūs al-āyāt
12. Al-Waqf wa'l-ibtidā'
13. Al-Mabsūṭ
14. Al-Maqṭa' wa'l-mabādi'
15. Āyāt al-Qur'ān
16. Al-Itifāq wa'l-infirād

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1. T. Q , I, 49-50; Irsh., I, 411-413; Tadh., III, 137; Shadh., III, 98.

Of Ibn-Mihhrān's sixteen works Nos. 1, 2 and 3, survive.<sup>1</sup>

#### 0.5 Abū-'Alī as-Sarakhsī

His name was Zāhir ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Īsā. He was a native of Sarakhs. He went to Marw where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ishāq al-Marwazī. In 927 he visited Iraq and came to Baghdad where he read the Qur'an under Ibn-Mujāhid and literature under Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ ( II. J. 16 ). He also received traditions from the Iraqis Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī, Abū-Muḥammad ibn-Sa'īd, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Wāsiṭī and others. In 949 he came to Nishapur where he attended the assemblies of the Shāfi'ite scholar Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He became noted as a reader of the Qur'an and as a jurist of the Shāfi'ite school, as well as an Ash'arite in theology. He died in Nishapur in 998.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The list is given by al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3) and quoted by Yāqūt except No.3 which is recorded by Brockelmann with Nos.1 and 2 , G A L , f.203; G A L S , I, 330; Irsh., I, 412.

2. T K M , 206-207; Shadh., III, 131.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS

SATIRICAL POETS: ABŪ-BAKR AL-KHWĀRIZMĪ, ABŪ-'l-QĀSIM  
AL-ṬISKĀFĪ AND ABŪ-AḤMAD AL-KĀTIB. MEN OF LETTERS: ABŪ-  
'ALĪ AS-SALLĀMĪ AND ABŪ-'l-'ABBĀS AL-MĪKĀLĪ.

Of several men of letters and poets who spent much of their lives in Nishapur, the most important and distinguished literary figure was Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ). He was of Persian origin, born in Baghdad, and he is known to have spent some time at the court of the Ḥamdānid Prince, Sayf-ad-Dawla (reg. 944-967 ), in Aleppo, where he probably made the acquaintance of the famous Arabian poet al-Mutanabbī (d. 965 ). He also visited the court of the Buwayhid Vizier Ibn-'Abbād in Rayy and that of the Buwayhid prince 'Aḡud-aḡ-Dawla in Shīrāz. The prince raised him to a position of honour and showered wealth upon him. He resided in Nishapur where he bought lands and taught literature; among his pupils were Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Harawī ( III. X. 4 ) Ibn-al-Ashrus ( III. X. 6 ), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shāmātī (III.X.19) and the Ḥanafite jurist Qāḡī Ṣā'id (III.R.6).<sup>1</sup> One incident, in particular, connected with his residence in Nishapur deserves to be mentioned here and that was the time when he became involved in a literary wrangle with Badī'-az-Zamān al-Ḥamadhānī ( III.X. 2 ), who was then well-known for his composition of the maqāmas. When Badī'-az-Zamān came to Nishapur, he felt that the welcome accorded to him by al-Khwārizmī was less warm than he expected;

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1. See below, (List No. I. F ), 624



probably because of this imagined slight to his reputation, Badi'-az-Zamān later challenged al-Khwārizmī to a public competition in the various aspects of literature. From this public confrontation Badi'-az-Zamān, according to ath-Tha'alibī emerged as superior to al-Khwārizmī.<sup>1</sup> However, al-Khwārizmī as a poet was renowned for his satirical poems to his patrons as well as to his enemies but he was particularly noted for his prose letters. According to Gibb it was al-Khwārizmī who introduced rhythmized prose in literary letters into Nishapur from where it spread to the Eastern provinces.<sup>2</sup>

Another satirical poet was a Nishapurian by birth, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī ( II. P. 7 ). He began his career by being associated with the governor of Khurasan Abū-'Alī Chaghānī. He then became secretary of the chancellery of the Sāmānid rulers in Bukhārā and assistant to the head of the chancellery, the celebrated writer Abū-'l-Faḍl ibn-al-'Amīd. When the latter died, al-Iskāfī succeeded him in office. Al-Iskāfī wrote many poems in a satirical vein against his master Abū-'l-Faḍl ibn-al-'Amīd, but his verses are regarded by Yāqūt as inferior to his prose. In the early years of the thirteenth century at the time of Yāqūt, letters by al-Iskāfī were circulating in written copies but at the present day we possess only his poems as given by ath-Tha'alibī.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Tha'alibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 257-258; Irsh., I, 96.

2. Gibb, Arabic Literature, 101.

3. Irsh., V 331; Tha'alibī, op.cit., IV, 99-100.

The third satirical poet who connected his life with Nishapur was Abū-Aḥmad al-Kātib (II.P.9) who was a native of Bukhārā and the son of the Sāmānid Vizier Abū-Bakr al-Kātib. He appears to have had some political ambitions which were thwarted when someone else was appointed to succeed his father as Vizier and a great deal of his poetry is taken up with satirizing the successor. However his best poem was written in Nishapur when he was still in a satirical mood, but this time the object of his attacks were the local landowners, who were refusing to pay taxes. Ath-Tha'ālībī noted that Abū-Aḥmad al-Kātib was influenced in verse by the Iraqis and particularly by the poet Ibn-Bassām.<sup>1</sup>

Nishapur also produced two celebrated men of letters. They were Abū-'Alī as-Sallāmī ( II. P. 1 ) and Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mikālī ( II. P. 4 ). The first was a native of Bayhaq. He is known, however, to have made his career by connecting his fortunes with the governors of Khurasan, Abū-Bakr Chaghānī and his son Abū-'Alī. As-Sallāmī is known to have written many works, the most famous of which was his book entitled Ta'rīkh wulāt Khurāsān. This book of history is unfortunately lost but extracts from it are known in quotation.<sup>2</sup> The second man of letters was a noble of royal descent and the son of the governor of Ahwāz, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad. He studied under the famous poet Ibn-Durayd ( d. 934 ), who was so impressed by his pupil that he composed for him his

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1. Tha'ālībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 66-69.

2. I Fun., 154; Sakhāwī, al-I'lān bi't-Tawbīkh., 73-75.

work Jamharat al-lugha and dedicated his poem in alif maqṣūra to him. This gesture served to spread the reputation of the Mikālīs in the Islamic world as far as Aden and Ibn-Durayd was rewarded with a gift of 10,000 dinars from the Mikālīs.<sup>1</sup> Abū-'l-'Abbas was the first of the Mikālīs to become ra'īs of Nishapur, an office which his son and other Mikālīs later took over.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., II, 490; Jaw., I, 108-109; Ans, f., 549a-549b; Lub., III, 202; Irsh., VI, 490; cf. Bos., 180; Pederson, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Ibn Duraid"; A L, 148; Nicholson, Literary History of the Arabs, 343; see below, (List No.I.F), 624.
  2. See below the Mikālīs who occupied the office of ra'īs in Nishapur, 258-260.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS (900-1000)

P.1     Abū-‘Alī as-Sallāmī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born and brought up in Bayhaq. He studied literature there under Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad al-Mughaythī ( II. P. 6 ). He was renowned as a historian and poet and taught literature to Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ). He connected his fortunes with the governors of Khurasan, Abū-Bakr Chaghānī and his son Abū-‘Alī. He died in 913.

As-Sallāmī was the author of Ta’rīkh wulāt Khurāsān by which he established his reputation as a historian. He also composed several literary works whose titles were: Kitāb ath-tha’r, Kitāb-nutaf az-ẓarf, and Kitāb al-miṣbāḥ. None of his works are now extant, but extracts from his book Ta’rīkh wulāt Khurāsān are known because they are quoted in the works of as-Sakhāwī, Gardizī, Ibn-al-Athīr and Manīnī, in his commentary on ‘Utbi’s Ta’rīkh al-Yamīnī. Specimens of his poems are also preserved by ath-Tha‘ālībī ( III. X. 11).<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tha‘ālībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 95; I Fun., 154; Sakhāwī, al-I‘lān bi ‘t-tawbikh., 73-75; cf. Bos., 13.

## P.2 Abū-‘Amr az-Zardī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was born in Zard, which was a village in Isfarā’in. He heard traditions there from Abū-‘Awāna al-Isfarā’īnī ( II. I. 16 ) and ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad al-Arghiyānī. He came to Nishapur where he stayed as a guest of the famous traditionist al-Ḥākim an-Naysabūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). Among his pupils was Abū-Manṣūr an-Naysabūrī ( II. L. 3 ). He died in 949.

Az-Zardī was held in high esteem in his birthplace Isfarā’in and was honoured in Nishapur as an eloquent grammarian, a man of letters and a traditionist.<sup>1</sup>

## P.3 Abū-Ḥāmid al-Khārzanjī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in the village of Khārzanj near Nishapur. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Būshanjī ( I. K. 1 ). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca and came to Baghdad where he was held in high esteem by the scholars of that city, among them Abū-‘Umar az-Zāhid. He returned to Nishapur where he gave lessons and died in 959.

Al-Khārzanjī was one of the celebrated men of letters of Nishapur. He established his reputation and gained the highest fame by writing his work at-Takmila fi’l-burhān

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1. Irsh., II, 66-67; Lub., I, 498; Ans., f.

which was written as a continuation of al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad's lexicon al-ʿAyn. The work is said to have consisted of problems in grammar which were not mentioned or treated in al-ʿAyn. Al-Khāzanjī's other works which were less well-known in his time than the above-mentioned. Two of them were called aṭ-Ṭafṣila and Tafsīr abyāt adab al-kātib. None of his works are now extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### P.4 Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mikālī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Mikāl ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-Jibrīl ibn-Qasam ibn-Bakr ibn-Dīwāshī. The last was the Persian king Shūr ibn-Shūr ibn-Shūr ibn-Shūr ibn-Yazdajird ibn-Bahrām. Abū-'l-'Abbās was the son of the governor of Ahwāz who flourished in the early years of the tenth century. As a youth, Abū-'l-'Abbās was educated by the famous poet Ibn-Durayd ( d. 934 ) and when his father died he came to Nishapur, where, probably during this visit, he learned traditions from Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ) Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ) and Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Māsarjisī and where he made the acquaintance of Abū-Naṣr Ibn-Abī-Ḥayya. Then he came to Baghdad, where he was summoned to the court of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (reg. 908-932). He was respected and honoured by the Caliph, who offered him the governorship of Fārs and Khūzistān. But

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1. Irsh., II, 64-66; Lub., I, 335.

Abū-'l-'Abbās declined the offer. He went back to Nishapur, took up permanent residence there, and was appointed ra'īs. In the city, he made the acquaintance of the famous traditionist Abū-'Amr al-Khaffār (II. I. 5). Abū-'l-'Abbās was noted among the notables of Nishapur as a man of letters. In 958 the Sāmānid Vizier, Abū-Ja'far al-'Utbi, gave him charge of the chancellery, a post which he held until his death in 973.<sup>1</sup>

#### P.5 Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-'Abbās. He was born in 935 in Baghdad. He was of Persian origin. His father belonged to Khwārizm and his mother, who was the sister of the famous historian aṭ-Ṭabarī, belonged to Ṭabaristān. In his youth he spent some time in the court of the Ḥamdānid prince Sayf-ad-Dawla at Aleppo, then he went to Bukhārā and attended the court of the Sāmānid Vizier Abū-'Alī al-Bal'amī. He first eulogised and then lampooned the Vizier and soon left and sojourned in Nishapur, where he met the Amīr Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad ibn-'Alī al-Mikālī, who became one of his best friends. But his stay in this city does not seem to have been a long one. He went to Sijistān, where he lay a long time in prison, because he had written a satire against the governor Abū-'l-Ḥusayn Ṭāhir ibn-Muḥammad. After his release, he

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1. Irsh., II, 343-346; Jaw., I, 109-110; Ans., ff.548b-549b; Lub., III, 202; cf. Bos., 180; see below, 258.

came for the second time to Nishapur but he soon left and went to Rayy, where he entered the court of the Buwayhid Vizier aṣ-Ṣāhib ibn-‘Abbād, who was also famous as a man of letters. He eulogised him initially too, but after his departure he wrote a satire against him. He came to Shīrāz where he met the Buwayhid prince ‘Aḍud-ad-Dawla who ordered for him an annual salary. He returned to Nishapur and settled there. But his mania for satire earned him confiscation and imprisonment at the hands of al-‘Utbī the Vizier of Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid. However when the Vizier was somehow assassinated, al-Khwārizmī was released and all his lands and properties were restored to him by the successor of al-‘Utbī, Abū-’l-Ḥusayn al-Muzanī, who was one of his admirers. While living in comfort and teaching in Nishapur, his reputation was somewhat overshadowed by that of Badī‘-az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī ( III. X. 2 ). He died in Nishapur in 992.

Al-Khwārizmī was an able poet and a man of letters. He left a collection of letters behind him, which has made his name famous in Eastern Islam. Extracts from his letters and poems are preserved by ath-Tha‘alibī and Yāqūt.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tha‘alibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., iv, 194-241; Irsh., 109, 112-118; I Kh., I, 662-663; Ans., f.367a; Lub., II, 80; Wafī., III, 191-193.



## P.6      Abū-Ishāq al-Mughaythī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad; he was born in Mughaytha which is a village in Bayhaq to which the Vizier of Kāshghar al-Faḍl ibn-Ḥamak was connected and where the Vizier is said to have erected a building financed by the money he collected during his expeditions. Al-Mughaythī studied literature under Aḥmad ibn-Khālīd aḍ-Ḍarīr ( I. H. 3 ). He also studied in Baghdad under Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mubarrad (d. 898) and Tha'lab (d. 904), who himself was a pupil of al-Aṣma'ī (d. 831). His most distinguished master in Baghdad was in fact the Amīr Abū-Aḥmad 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir under whom al-Mughaythī completed his studies and who became his friend. He became noted as one of the most able poets and it is related by Ibn-Fundaq that al-Mughaythī competed in verse with the celebrated poets of Baghdad al-Buḥturī (d. 898) and Ibn-ar-Rūmī (d. 897). It is related that al-Mughaythī was fostered by the Ṭāhirid princes and when the Ṭāhirid dynasty fell, he connected his fortune with the succeeding dynasty, the Ṣaffārīds, and became a secretary to 'Amr ibn-al-Layth. He died probably early in the first half of the 10th century.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibn-Fundaq with specimens of his poems, *I Fun.*, 151-154; see the derivation of the nisba under "Mughaytha", *M B*, IV, 585.

## P.7 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Muḥammad. His family was probably from Iskāf which was a town near Baghdad, but Abū-'l-Qāsim himself was born in Nishapur and there he studied literature under al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Mihrajān. As a youth he served as a secretary to the governor of Khurasan Abū-'Alī Chaghānī and when the governor rebelled against the Sāmānid prince, Nūḥ ibn-Naṣr (reg. 942-954), Abū-'l-Qāsim was arrested with his benefactor, but he was later released by the prince, Nūḥ, and raised to wealth and honour. Then Nūḥ appointed him as assistant in Bukhārā to Abū-'l-Faḍl ibn-al-'Amīd who was head of the chancellery and who was not always on good terms with him. However when Abū-'l-Faḍl died he was made head of that office. He died from an illness probably in the middle years of the 10th century.

Abū-'l-Qāsim wrote many poems; the majority were satires and lampoons. His style in poetry is regarded as inferior to his prose-style.<sup>1</sup>

## P.8 Abū-Naṣr al-Marzubān

His name was Sahl ibn-al-Marzubān. He was born in Iṣṣpahan and there he spent his youth. Then he came to Nishapur where he dwelt for the rest of his life. In his house he employed copyists who copied his works and in this

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1. Tha'ālibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., iv, 95-100; Irsh., V, 229-331; for the nisba "al-Iskāfī", see Lub., I, 45; Ans., f.35a.

way his collection of poems, Dīwān, became very popular especially during the lifetime of ath-Tha'ālibī (III. X. 11 ). He died probably sometime in the second half of the 10th century. He collected historical information about three celebrated poets and men of letters and these were entitled:

1. Akhbār Abū-'l-'Aynā'
2. Akhbār Ibn-ar-Rumī (d. 897)
3. Akhbār Jaḥẓa al-Barmakī (d. 935)

None of his works are now extant but extracts from his three works and from his Diwān are preserved by ath-Tha'ālibī.<sup>1</sup>

#### P.9 Abū-Aḥmad al-Kātib

His name is unknown. He was the son of Abū-Bakr al-Kātib, secretary to the Sāmānid prince, Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad (reg. 892 - 907) and afterwards Vizier of his successor Aḥmad ibn-Ismā'īl (reg. 907-913). Abū-Aḥmad himself was one of the famous poets of Bukhārā. He followed in his poems the style of the Iraqis and was greatly influenced by the poet Ibn-Bassām, who was a friend of al-Buḥturī. Abū-Aḥmad's career is a matter of interest. He believed that he was more worthy to be Vizier than the successors of his father Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Jabhānī and Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Bal'amī (d. 940). He

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1. Tha'ālibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr, IV, 391-394.

lampooned the latter and his life was threatened, so he fled to the west where he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. Afterwards he came to Baghdad where he stayed for some time. Then he came to Bukhārā where he was involved in pleasure parties which he held for the poets of the city. Nevertheless he was appointed at last as a tax-collector to the cities of Herat, Būshanj and Bādhghīs, but soon he was dismissed from office and retired to Nishapur. In this city he wrote and delivered one of his greatest speeches when he read a poem in which he demanded from the tax collectors that they should collect the unpaid taxes of some of the landowners of Nishapur. The poem seems to have had such a great influence that the landowners paid the rest of their taxes. Abū-Aḥmad died some time in the middle of the 10th century.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Tha'ālībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr, IV, 64-66; See specimens of his poems, Ibid., IV, 66-69.

THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR, 700 - 1225

BY

MOUFID MUHAMMAD NOURI

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## ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

TITLES AND AUTHORS

- A L = Huart, Arabic Literature.
- Ans = as-Sam'ānī, al-Ansāb.
- B G A = Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum, (Leiden).
- B I = Bibliotheca Islamica (Cairo, Istanbul and Beirut).
- Bos = Bosworth, The Ghaznavids their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040.
- B S O(A)S = Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies (London).
- Bughyat = aṣ-Ṣuyūṭī, Bughyat al-wu'āt.
- E I<sup>1</sup> = Encyclopaedia of Islam, first edition, (Leiden).
- E I<sup>2</sup> = Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition.
- G A L = Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur (Leiden).
- G A L S = Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, Supplementbände, (Leiden).
- G M S = E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series (London).
- H Kh = Ḥajjī-Khalīfa, Kashf az-ẓunūn.
- I Fun = Ibn-Funduq, Ta'riḫ-i Bayhaq.
- I H = Ibn-Ḥajar, Tahdhīb at-tahdhīb.
- I Kh = Ibn-Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a'yān.
- Irsh = Yāqūt, Irshād al-arīb li-ma'rifat al-adīb.
- J A O S = Journal of the American Oriental Society (New Haven, Connecticut).
- J R A S = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (London).
- Jaw = Ibn-Abī-'l-wafā', al-Jawāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya.

- Kāmil = Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fi't-ta'rīkh.
- Kashf = al-Hujwīrī, Kashf al-mahjūb.
- Khaṭ = al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, Ta'rīkh Baghdād.
- L H P = Browne, A Literary History of Persia.
- Lub = Ibn-al-Athīr, al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb.
- M B = Yāqūt, Mu'jam al-buldān.
- Miftāḥ = Ṭash-Kūprē-Zāde, Miftāḥ as-sa'āda wa misbāḥ as-siyāda.
- Mizān = ad-Dhahabī, Mizān al-i'tidād fī naqd ar-rijāl.
- Muntaẓam = Ibn-al-Jawzī, al-Muntaẓam fī ta'rīkh al-mulūk wa'l-umam.
- M W = Muslim World (Leiden).
- Naf = Jāmī, Nafaḥāt al-uns.
- S E I = Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden).
- Sha' = ash-Sha'rānī, aṭ-Ṭabaqāt al-kubrā al-musammāt bi-lawāqih al-anwār fī ṭabaqāt al-akhyār.
- Shadh = Ibn-'Imād, Shadharāt adh-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab.
- Siyāq = al-Fārisī, as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr.
- Subk = as-Subkī, Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya al-kubrā.
- Sulam = as-Sulamī, Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya.
- Tadh = adh-Dhahabī, Tadhkirat al-ḥuffāz.
- T K M = Ibn-'Asākir, Tabyyīn kadhib al-muftarī.
- T N = al-Ḥākim an-Naysabūrī, Ta'rīkh-i Nīshāpūr.
- T Q = Ibn-al-Jazarī, Ṭabaqāt al-qurrā'.
- Wāfi = aṣ-Ṣafadī, al-Wāfi bi'l-wafayāt.

PART THREE

THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR WHO DIED BETWEEN  
1000 - 1100

## HISTORICAL INTRODUCTORY NOTE

### THE SCHOLARS AND POLITICS UNDER THE GHAZNAVIDS AND THE EARLY SELJŪQIDS

During the four decades at the beginning of the eleventh century, the city of Nishapur was under the political and military protection of the Ghaznavids. They, like those who supplanted and succeeded them in the government of the area throughout the second half of the century, the Seljūqs, made use of those native elements in the social, economic and intellectual life of the city which, they hoped, would tend to promote political stability under their rule. It was therefore their general policy to suppress the anti-Sunnite religious movements, and in particular the Ismā'īlites, when they became too extreme, and to consolidate their government by supporting the Sunni position throughout the Islamic empire. In all the Khurasan cities and therefore also in Nishapur, this policy took the form of favouring the most influential and important Sunni families by appointing their members as advisers, as diplomatic envoys, and as municipal and administrative officials.<sup>1</sup>

Among the municipal and administrative posts which were made available in this way to the scholars, the most important were the municipal office of ra'īs and the legal offices of

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1. Bosworth gives a great amount of information regarding the political role of the Nishapurian scholars, the notables and the most distinguished families in Nishapur under the Ghaznavid rule, Bos., 171-202;

qāḍī and khaṭīb. The ra'īs was particularly important as it was the most powerful political position after that of the governor of Khurasan himself. This was on account of the fact that, as the Ghaznavids had their administrative capital in Ghazna which was outside Khurasan, they were compelled to leave the province and the cities contained within it with a comparatively large amount of autonomy.<sup>1</sup> The ra'īs however always remained under the direct control of the Sultan who appointed him and who could remove him from office if he failed to carry out the desired policy or if, like Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ) he became too independent and could be suspected of holding anti-Sunnite religious opinions.<sup>2</sup> The ra'īs became responsible not only for the organisation of official activities, such as festivities and receptions for distinguished visitors, including the Sultan himself, and hospitality to locally powerful religious leaders and distinguished a'yān of the city, but also for the maintenance of political stability within the city and for carrying out the orders and policies of the Sultan.<sup>3</sup> This necessitated the ra'īs being chosen from among the higher social classes, since they included the only people with sufficient wealth to entertain on a large scale and with the

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1. Bos., 184.

2. See below, 260-261.

3. Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, 23, 36, 247. In turn the Sultan installs the ra'īs with ṭaylasān and durra'a and honours him with the title of 'Khwāja-yi Buzurg', ibid., 610; cf. Bos., 184.

required social status to induce the other notables of the city, even though of a different Sunnite religious persuasion, to accept their authority, and hence the authority of the Sultan whom they represented.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, most of the municipal and administrative posts were staffed, as Bosworth indicates, by those who had landowning and property interests, because, even though the Sultan gave the qāḍīs and Khaṭībīs a salary, this was often augmented by privately-given assignations of land to go with the office, as is illustrated by the case of the jurist Abū-Muḥammad al-Mu'allā ibn-Aḥmad who, while ra'īs of Nishapur, endowed estates and property for successive holders of the qaḍā' of Nishapur to enjoy.<sup>2</sup> If this was so in the case of the qāḍīs and khaṭībīs, it was even more so with the ra'īs who, according to Bosworth, usually came from the 'haute bourgeoisie' of the city.<sup>3</sup> This is excellently illustrated by the example of the Mīkālīs, who had amassed wealth from their hereditary estates and awqāf and from trading and manufacturing concerns throughout Khurasan and who were the most influential family in Nishapur.<sup>4</sup>

Abū-'l-'Abbās ( II. P. 4 ) settled the Mīkālī family in Nishapur towards the end of the tenth century and was appointed ra'īs there, until his son, Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh,

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1. Bos., 185.

2. I Fun., 172, Bos., 172.

3. Ibid., 185.

4. Bayhaqī, Ta'rikh-i Maṣ'ūdī, 40-41, 129, 184.

also was appointed. The office of ra'īs appears to have been semi-hereditary because not only did Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh's son, Abū-Ja'far, become ra'īs of Nishapur, but the latter's grandson, Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Alī, became ra'īs in Ghazna, after being summoned there by the Sultan Maḥmūd (reg.998-1030). He must have been regarded as a particularly skilled negotiator by the Sultan because he commissioned him in 1011-12 to conduct the marriage alliance of his daughter with the Ziyārid Manūchihr ibn-Qābūs and to escort her to him. On the death of the Sultan Maḥmūd, he retained both his office and his reputation as an administrator and a diplomat with his successor, Sultan Mas'ūd, and was commissioned by him not only to organise the reception of the envoy from Baghdad who came to secure the homage of Sultan Mas'ūd to the new Caliph on the death of al-Qādir, but also to head the pilgrimage of Khurasan and Transoxiana. For this latter duty, he was given the title of Khwāja.<sup>1</sup>

One of Abū-Muḥammad 'Abd-Allāh's nephews, Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn, the son of the famous traditionist, Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Alī al-Muṭṭawwi'ī was called by Gardīzī as ra'īs and so he might have been at some time ra'īs of Nishapur. He became katkudā of the Ghaznavid general Begtoghdi's army in 1035, but he was captured on the defeat of the army by the Seljūqs. Thereafter, he served his new masters with what must have been some considerable assiduity because Ibn-al-Athīr

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1. Jaw., I, 109; Ans., ff. 548b-549b; Irsh., VI, 490;

Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdi, 208, 257, 360; cf. Bos., 179 - 181.

names him as Tughril-Beg's second Vizier, with the title of ra'īs ar-ru'asā'. His brother, Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad became for a time ra'īs in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

The most distinguished member of the Mīkālīs was Abū-'Alī al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad, better known by the appellation which had been given to him in his youth by Sultan Maḥmūd, Ḥasanak. After a period at the court, when he was appointed Ṣaḥīb al-Barīd of Sistān, he became ra'īs of Nishapur. This act of appointment constituted a resumption of Sultan Maḥmūd's normal policy of choosing the ri'āsa from among the a'yān of Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> Just before Ḥasanak's appointment, Sultan Maḥmūd had made the leader of the Karrāmīte sect, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad, ra'īs, partly on account of that sect's strength and following in Nishapur, which had reached the height of its fortunes in the early part of the eleventh century, but mainly because of his policy decision to use that sect as a bulwark of Sunnite conservatism against the Ismā'īlites, or religious radicals. Abū-Bakr Muḥammad appears to have commended himself personally to the Sultan by his ruthless inquisitorial technique and his tireless pursuit in ferreting out anything which smacked of anti-Sunnism: he had played a prominent part in the interrogation, trial and execution of the Fāṭimid agent,

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1. Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 101-2; Kāmil, IX, 359; Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, 481, 843; 'Utbi, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, II, 321; cf. Bos., 181; the Ṣā'idī scholar Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad al-Ustuwā'ī (III.R.12) also became ra'īs during the reign of Tughril-Beg (1038-1063).

2. Bayhaqī, op.cit., 146.



Tāhartī, in 1012-13, and under the pretext of eliminating the Bāṭinite heretics, he succeeded in establishing a period of terror in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup> He demolished the mosque of the Rāfiḍites, an extremist sect of the Shī'ites, and he attacked the mystics and their shaykh, Abū-Sa'īd ( III. V. 4 )<sup>2</sup>. Even Sunnite scholars like the Ash'arite theologian, Ibn-Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ) who opposed the teachings of the Karrāmite sect, were accused of heresy and murdered.<sup>3</sup> Likewise, the traditionist al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) was harried by the sect; they smashed his pulpit and prevented him from leaving his house for the mosque.<sup>4</sup> Ironically, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad was dismissed from the ri'āsa by Sultan Maḥmūd as a result of allegations of heresy made against him and his sect by the leader of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur, Qāḍī Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'īd ibn-Muḥammad al-Ustuwā'ī (III. R. 6). These allegations were investigated first at the Sultan's court in Ghazna in 1011-12 and later at a court of enquiry before the qāḍī al-quḍāt of Ghazna, Abū-Muḥammad an-Nāṣiḥī (d. 1055) where Abū-Bakr Muḥammad appears to have incurred the disfavour of the Sultan against himself and his sect, less on account of

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1. Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī, 237-9; Ans., f.102b; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 71; 'Utbī, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, II, 237-50; cf. Bos., 187; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 291.

2. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd., 77; Siyāq., f.3b.

3. Subk., III, 53; Shadh., III, 182; cf. Bos., 188.

4. Muntazam, VII, 275; Wafī, III, 321; cf. Bos., 187.

the theological opinions which the Karrāmites supposedly held, than because of his counter allegations of heretical views held by his accuser, Ṣā'id, whose bcnaufides and pure Ḥanafite faith, were testified to by the Sultan's brother, the Amīr Naṣr.

With the dismissal of Abū-Bakr Muḥammad from the ri'āsa, other members of the Karrāmite sect were weeded out of the madrasas and pulpits, and the office of ri'āsa reverted to being held by a'yān and by the Mīkālīs in particular. Ḥasanak followed up the ascendancy gained over the Karrāmites by confiscating the possessions and estates of Abū-Bakr Muḥammad and imprisoning his more zealous followers. This put an end to the Karrāmite political power in Nishapur, though the sect continued to be influential there in the second half of the eleventh century under their alternative name of al-Hayḍamiyya, so called from the name of their founder Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ). However, as a sect, the Karrāmites continued in Khurasan and Transoxiana for another two centuries.<sup>1</sup>

Ḥasanak became immensely popular within Nishapur partly as a result of his suppression of the Karrāmites and partly because of the policy of civic improvement which was begun while he was ra'īs of Nishapur. For example, it is mentioned that he had the streets of the bazaar covered as

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1. Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī, 255-8; 'Utbī, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, II, 311-325; Jaw., I, 357; I Fun., 268-269; Kāmil., X, 171; cf. Bos., 188-189; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 289-290. see below, 340-341.

a protection against wind and snow and that he spent 100,000 Nishapurian dinars out of his own pocket in civic works.<sup>1</sup> However, he was also noted for his exactions from the rich and powerful in Nishapur and even his own family was not exempted, as is illustrated by his confiscation of the hereditary property and revenues of the family awqāf belonging to Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad's sons, Abū-'l-Faḍl ( III. X. 12 ) and Abū-Ibrāhīm. Later, however, the political ambition which prompted him to seek the office of Vizier on the dismissal of Maymandi in 1024, necessitated him leaving the ri'āsa in the charge of his deputy and relative, Abū-Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 29 ).<sup>2</sup>

Maḥmūd must have been quite pleased with Ḥasanak because he appointed him Vizier for the rest of his reign, despite the embarrassment which Ḥasanak had caused him with the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qādir when, on returning from a pilgrimage through the Fāṭimid territories of Palestine and Syria, Ḥasanak had accepted a gift of a robe of honour, khil'a, from the Fāṭimid Caliph az-Zāhir and had offered to convey letters of friendship from the Fāṭimid Caliph to Maḥmūd. The 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Qādir, alarmed at the prospect of a possible alliance between the Ghaznavids and his Fāṭimid enemies, accused Ḥasanak of Qarmaṭian sympathies, and Maḥmūd, to appease the

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1. Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī, 257-8; 'Utbi, at-  
Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, II, 328-329.

2. Jurbādhqānī, op.cit., 257-8; Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī,  
40f. cf. Bos., 182.

offended Caliph, had to send him, for burning, the gift which Ḥasanak had received from the Caliph az-Zāhir. Ḥasanak remained Vizier for the rest of Maḥmūd's reign but, on the latter's death, he made a serious political error which cost him his life. He offended the Prince Mas'ūd (Reg. 1030-1041) and his main confidant, Abū-Sahl az-Zawzanī, by supporting the heir designate to the Sultanate, Prince Muḥammad, and when the latter's Sultanate collapsed, Ḥasanak was arrested on charges connected with Caliph al-Qādir's allegations against him and was executed, in the face of popular disapproval, at Balkh in 1031.<sup>1</sup>

The different careers of the members of Mīkālis family serve to indicate how surely, despite the insecurity of tenure of the official positions which were dependent on first obtaining and then retaining the favour of the Sultan, the Mīkālis retained control of the ri'āsa of Nishapur throughout most of the period of the Ghaznavid rule. At least one of them, Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥusayn, adapted himself to the Seljūqs who succeeded the Ghaznavids.<sup>3</sup> From another angle, the histories of some of the various members of the family show

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1. Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdi, 181-3; Kāmil, IX, 239; according to 'Aqilī, the khil'a was burnt at Ghazna, Āthār al-wuzarā', 187; Gardīzī, Zayn al-akhbār, 96-97; Bayhaqī, op.cit., 178-189; cf. Bos., 182-183.

3. See above, 259.

how the Ghaznavids were able to maintain some degree of political stability in Khurasan in general and Nishapur in particular by identifying their rule with the political ambitions of the members of the most influential families, while retaining ultimate control in the Sultanate. But it was not only the Sultans with whom the political careerists had continually to seek favour: some of the Viziers, especially under Seljūq's rule, such as al-Kundurī and Nizām-al-Mulk, enjoyed quite considerable power and they too had to be won over to support the administrators in their careers. The very factors facilitating the growth of political opportunism, the personal favours and preferences of the Sultans and their Viziers, render historical generalisations almost meaningless. For example, though the general policy of the Ghaznavids and their successors was to maintain stability under their rule by assimilating the strongest native elements into it and by promoting Sunnism, it is impossible to generalise adequately about the attitudes of the Sultans towards the various Sunni sects.

In giving a brief description of the career of Ḥasanak as ra'īs of Nishapur, there has already been related the episode of the Sultan Maḥmūd's connection with the Karrāmīte sect, leading to the eclipse of that sect as a movement of any political importance.<sup>1</sup> This indicates just how perilous

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1. See above, 260-262.

it could be, even for a Sunnite sect, to be prominent enough for notice to be taken of it by the Sultan and then later to incur his displeasure. Maḥmūd employed Ḥanafites as well as famous from the other Sunnite sects: for example, in 1001, he sent the Shāfi'ite jurist Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī (III.S.2) on a diplomatic mission to the Ilig-Naṣr at Uzkend.<sup>1</sup> Some individual Shāfi'ites were highly respected by the Sultan Maḥmūd, for instance, when Abū-Sa'd al-Kharkūshī (III.T.2) made a petition to remit the heavy taxation of Nishapur, Maḥmūd seems to have considered his petition.<sup>2</sup> In general, however, Shāfi'ism, although throughout the eleventh century it was attracting the attention of many scholars in Nishapur, did not have the popular support and the political backing of such socially prominent families in Nishapur as had Ḥanafism. The two leading families of the Ḥanafites, the Ṣa'idīs and Tabbānīs, both benefited from the patronage of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd, and many of their members were chosen for diplomatic and other official missions.

The Tabbānīs were particularly proud of their connections with the founder of the Ḥanafite school, Abū-Ḥanīfa, through the head of their family, Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī (II.J.10), who had been a pupil in Baghdad of Hārūn's

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1. 'Utbi, at-Ta'riḫ al-Yamīnī, II, 28; Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'riḫ-i Yamīnī, 198; cf. Bos., 177.

2. Kāmil., IX, 247.

qāḍī al-quḍāt, Abū-Yūsuf, who himself had been a disciple of Abū-Ḥanīfa.<sup>1</sup> Maḥmūd had already made the acquaintance of the family when he was serving as commander of the army in Nishapur under the Sāmānids, and when he became Sultan, he invited one member of the family, the jurist Abū-Ṣāliḥ at-Tabbānī to come to Ghazna in 995, where he became head of the Ḥanafites there and taught in a madrasa.<sup>2</sup> Abū-Ṣāliḥ's nephew, Abū-Ṣādiq at-Tabbānī, was brought by Ḥasanak to meet the Sultan in Balkh, and thereafter was established by Ḥasanak in a madrasa in the street of the 'Basket Weavers' in Nishapur. He was summoned to Ghazna by Maḥmūd who awarded him a monthly salary and later appointed him qāḍī al-quḍāt of Khuttal. In 1037, when Mas'ūd wished to strengthen his alliance with the second son of Qādir-Khān, Bughra-Khān of Talas and Isfījāb, and the eastern branch of the Qarakhanids, against their rival 'Alītingin of Bukhārā, he sent Abū-Ṣādiq as an envoy with a promise of the qaḍā' of Nishapur as a reward. He stayed 18 months with the Qarakhanids and his visit was a great success.<sup>3</sup>

Another prominent member of the Tabbānīs, Abū-Ṭāhir, was appointed by Maḥmūd as qāḍī of Ṭūs and Nasā. Mas'ūd continued

1. Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, 198; cf. Bos., 177.

2. Bayhaqī, op.cit., 177-178.

3. Ibid., op.cit., 208-210, 528-529; cf. Bos., 178.

this favour and sent him as one of the two envoys to the Qarakhanids in 1031 to arrange a double marriage alliance with the court of Kāshghar. During his absence of nearly four years, his functions as qāḍī of Ṭūs and Nasā were exercised by deputies, and, on the mission's return, Abū-Ṭāhir died in 1034 in Bādakhshān.<sup>1</sup>

Another member of the Tabbānīs, Ḥasan at-Tabbānī, enlisted in Maḥmūd's army and fought against Abū-ʿAlī Simjūrī and against the Qarakhānid invaders of Khurasan. He became a member of Masʿūd's army and was present in 1041 at his ally Shāh Malik's victory over the Khwārizmians.<sup>2</sup>

It has already been mentioned how Qāḍī Abū-ʿl-ʿAlāʾ Ṣāʿid prevailed over the Karrāmīte leader, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad.<sup>3</sup> Ṣāʿid was renowned during Maḥmūd's reign as a Sunnite leader, and he made him tutor to his sons, Masʿūd and Muḥammad.<sup>4</sup> The military governor of Khurasan, the brother of the Sultan, Prince Naṣr ibn-Sebüktigin, who had testified to Ṣāʿid's pure Ḥanafite faith at the court of enquiry before the qāḍī al-ḡuḍāt of Ghazna, founded a madrasa in Nishapur for the qāḍī and endowed it with awqāf.<sup>5</sup> Ṣāʿid had also benefited from the

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1. Bayhaqī, Taʾrīkh-i Masʿūdī, 209-11, 424, 25.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 689; cf. Bos., 178.

3. See above, 261-262.

4. Bayhaqī, op.cit., 198.

5. Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi taʾrīkh-i Yamīnī, 260.



patronage of the powerful Mīkālīs family during his youth and interceded for two members of that family who had had their estates confiscated by Ḥanasak.<sup>1</sup> Mas'ūd restored their estates to them and appointed Ṣā'id's son qāḍī of Rayy. When the Seljūqs first appeared before Nishapur in 1038, although he was no longer acting as day to day qāḍī of the city, he was the first person to whom the notables went for advice. He died in 1040 when Nishapur was under Seljūq occupation. The Ṣā'idī family however retained their hold on legal and religious offices for many decades.<sup>2</sup>

The Seljūqs first appeared before Nishapur in 1038 and a detailed account of the submission of that city by the Imām Abū-Muḥammad Hibat-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad al-Muwaffaq, and the local a'yān is given in a dispatch to the Sultan Mas'ūd at Ghazna by Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Jumāhī, the Ṣāhib al-Barīd of Nishapur.<sup>3</sup> Bosworth suggests that, apart from al-Muwaffaq, who was a Shāfi'ite scholar and the son of a qāḍī, it was

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1. See above, 263

2. Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, 211, 553; Jaw, I, 262. See below, (List No.3), 632-633.

3. Bayhaqī, op.cit., 550; Al-Muwaffaq was primarily noted as administrator, but he belonged to a famous Shāfi'ite family the Ṣu'lūkīs. He was the grandson of the famous scholar Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī (II. I. 22) and according to al-Fārisī the Ṣu'lūkīs had been the leaders and the imāms of the aṣḥāb al-ḥadīth for 150 years. Al-Muwaffaq's brothers, Abū-Naṣr al-Mu'ayyad, became a distinguished traditionist and Abū-Sahl became ra'īs of Nishapur. Siyāq., ff.108a-b; I Fun., 219; cf. Bos., 264 - 265.

mainly the a'yān who favoured the capitulation of the city for their own economic interests and that the religious classes and salaried officials, such as Ismā'īl aṣ-Ṣābūnī (III.Q.48) and Qādī Ṣā'id, had an ambivalent attitude towards the Seljūqs and retained their loyalty to the Ghaznavids.

Evidence for this view comes mainly from the despatch itself and from the fact that when the Sultan Mas'ūd retook the city in 1039, he appointed as ra'īs not one of the local a'yān, whose loyalty had proved dubious, but one of his own permanent officials.<sup>1</sup> However the Seljūqs were known for their Sunnite faith and this must have been a factor which influenced the religious community, and, if the religious classes had been too ambivalent as regards the change in temporal power, this would hardly explain why certain prominent members of them were favoured by the Seljūqs. Al-Muwaffaq, for example, was favoured by the Seljūq Sultan Tughril-Beg, and he left with the Seljūqs in 1039 when they evacuated Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> On the re-occupation of the city by the Seljūqs in 1040, he was appointed administrator there and it was during this period that he recommended to Tughril that the Ḥanafite leader, Abū-Naṣr Kundurī, one of the many former Ghaznavid officials who passed willingly into the Seljūqs service, should be made ra'īs al-ru'asā'. In this way, the ri'āsa was given again to a person from the

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1. Bos., 264-265.

2. Bayhaqī, Ta'rīkh-i Mas'ūdī, 607.

a'yān, the class which Bosworth suggests favoured the Seljūqs.<sup>1</sup>

One of the considerations that must always be kept in mind is the lack of experience in political administration under which the Seljūq leaders suffered under and which led to their excessive reliance on the policies of their Viziers. During Tughril's reign, for example, his Vizier Abū-Naṣr al-Kundurī, under the pretext of the official policy continued from the time of the Ghaznavids of suppressing anti-Sunnism and in particular the Shī'ites and Bāṭinites, began a persecution of the Ash'arites, not only in Khurasan but throughout Iraq and Ḥijāz. Although he was a Ḥanafite himself, he is reputed to have employed certain Ḥanafites, who were known to be Mu'tazilites in secret, as his agents to denounce in public from the mosques the heretics and to include in their denunciations not only the Shī'ites but also the Shāfi'ites and Ash'arites.<sup>2</sup> These latter were forbidden to preach or teach and they were dismissed from their posts as khaṭībs in the mosques. It became extremely dangerous to be known as a scholar, irrespective of whether one was a Shī'ite, Shāfi'ite, Ash'arite or even Ḥanafite, and about 400 qāḍīs left Khurasan to live in exile in Iraq and Ḥijāz.<sup>3</sup> So great was the Vizier's influence

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1. Bos., 264-265; Bowen "Notes on some early Seljuqid Viziers", B S O (A) S, XX (1957), 105-110.

2. Subk, II, 270; Shadh, III, 302; Hasan, "Mūnejjim Bāshīs Account of Sultan Malik Shah's Reign", Islamic Studies, III (1964), 441.

3. Subk, II, 272.

over the Sultan that he persuaded him to issue an order for the arrest of the leading Ash'arites in Nishapur, among whom were al-Juwaynī (III. T. 9 ), Abū-Sahl Ibn-al-Muwaffaq,<sup>1</sup> al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and al-Furātī. Al-Qushayrī and al-Furātī were arrested and imprisoned but al-Juwaynī managed to escape to Ḥijāz by taking the route of Kirmān. This persecution appears to have been begun purely as a result of the Vizier's own political reasons. Apparently, according to Subkī, he was alarmed at the prospect of Ibn-al-Muwaffaq, the Ash'arite ustādh, succeeding him as Vizier. Ibn-al-Muwaffaq was not only a Nishapurian dignitary and notable but he was well known for his generosity and hospitality towards both the Ḥanafites and Shāfi'ites. On the promulgation of the order for his arrest, he mobilized a strong army in Bākharz and marched on Nishapur, where he defeated the garrison of the city and released his friends from imprisonment. He then retired with his army to Ustuwā but he was defeated in a battle in a place close to Rayy. His estates and possessions were confiscated and he was imprisoned.<sup>2</sup>

Although the Vizier al-Kundurī and his chief official in Nishapur, the ra'īs ar-ru'asā', Abū-Naṣr Ustuwā'ī (III.R.12).

1. Abū-Sahl al-Muwaffaq was the brother of the former administrator Abū-Muḥammad al-Muwaffaq, Siyāq f.108a. see above, 269-270.

2. Subk., II, 270-271.

succeeded in the Vizier's policy of destroying the political power of the Shāfi'ites and Ash'arites, with the death of the Sultan Tughril in 1063 and the succession to the Seljūq throne of Alp-Arslān (1063-1073), there was a complete reversal of the previous policy under the new Vizier, Nizām-al-Mulk. Al-Kundurī was executed and Abū-Naṣr was dismissed from his office as ra'īs ar-ru'asā' and was exiled to Transoxiana.<sup>1</sup> All those who had been exiled or had escaped under the rule of al-Kundarī were invited by Nizām-al-Mulk to return to Khurasan, and among those who did was al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ), who was honoured on his return by the new Vizier who provided him with the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur and endowed it for him. Although the efforts of Nizām-al-Mulk led to a complete recovery of the fortunes of the Ash'arites and Shāfi'ites, this represented no new change in the way the administration of Khurasan under the Seljūqs was conducted: it was still the policy of the Seljūq ruler's Vizier which had changed and not that of the Sultan himself.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout the period of Nizām-al-Mulk's administration of the office of Vizier, from 1063 to 1095, there was relative peace and political stability. He began to implement a policy of supporting and strengthening the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites against the other theological and legal schools. The post of

1. Shadh., III, 303; Siyāq., f.34b.

2. See below, 457-458.

the ra'īs of Nishapur was given to a Shāfi'ite leader<sup>1</sup>. The Shāfi'ite and the Ash'arite scholars were appointed as professors to the Nizāmiyya madrasas, which he founded in the most important cities of the Empire. Thus Ash'arism and Shāfi'ism became the form of Islamic doctrines supported by the government.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See below, 457.

2. See below, (List No.2), 626-630; cf. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 106.

## II

THE TRADITIONISTSAL-ḤAKIM AN-NAYSĀBŪRĪ, AL-BAYHAQĪ, AL-MU'ADHDHIN,  
AND AṢ-ṢĀBŪNĪ

Throughout this period (1000-1100), the study of the Qur'ān and the traditions, together with the commentaries on them, continued to be the basis of the education given to Muslim students. In the developments of the study of tradition into a science, the city of Nishapur was still able to contribute by providing some of the most eminent scholars in this field.

The most distinguished scholar at this time, the one who was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries, was al-Ḥakim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). He is reported to have heard traditions from about 2,000 masters in different cities, to have made a special study of the Qur'ān and the principles of jurisprudence and to have been associated with the mystics. He acquired a most favourable reputation as a Sunnite traditionist and as a scholar in the various branches of Islamic knowledge. Abū-Ḥāzim goes so far as to describe him in the following terms:- "In each generation after the death of Muslim, Nishapur had more than one traditionist who were equally versed in this study, but during the time of al-Ḥakim he was without an equal in his generation in Ḥijāz, Syria,

the two Iraqs, Jibāl, Rayy, Ṭabaristān, Qūmis, Khurasan and Transoxiana".<sup>1</sup> It is certainly undeniable that al-Ḥākim amassed a great amount of information which he used to good effect in the composition of his many books on various aspects connected with the study of traditions. He is credited with being the first to have written a general work on the study of traditions as a science, and, although this is not strictly true because an earlier work on this subject was written by Abū-Muḥammad ar-Rāmhurmuzī, al-Ḥākim's book, the Ma'rifat anwā' 'ulūm al-ḥadīth, far surpassed the former's in the systematic manner in which he dealt with the various topics.<sup>2</sup> Al-Ḥākim's first attempt to classify the traditions is contained in his work, al-Iklīl, which is dedicated to a prince and which is frequently referred to and quoted from in books by other traditionist scholars. In a later work on the principles of traditions, entitled Al-Madkhal ilā al-iklīl, he repeated the 'signs and classes' rumūz wa ṭabaqāt, which he had given in the end of the Iklīl.<sup>3</sup> The largest book which he composed was the Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Naysābur which gave the biographies of the scholars in Nishapur down to 990 and ended with a section on the history and geography of that city. Eight

1. Abū-Ḥāzim quoted by as-Subkī and Ibn-'Asākir, Subk, III, 66; T K M, 230.

2. See above, 35, Robson, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Ḥadīth".

3. H Kh., I, 144.



of the twelve volumes of this work were still available to Ḥajjī-Khalīfa but to-day we only possess an abridged version in Persian.<sup>1</sup>

The book which most affected al-Ḥakīm's career and reputation and which subjected him to a lot of criticism was one which he wrote entitled al-Mustadrak ilā aṣ-ṣaḥīḥayn. In this work he mentions certain traditions including the one running "Whosoever's patron I am, 'Alī is his patron", and one which relates how when the Prophet prayed to God to send him the one whom He loved best of all creatures to eat a bird with him, God sent him 'Alī, which led al-Ḥakīm to be suspected of having Shī'ite tendencies.<sup>2</sup> Some scholars, like adh-Dhahabī, accused him of belonging to the Shī'ite sect, the Rāfiḍite, and it was probably for this reason that he was persecuted by the Karrāmites.<sup>3</sup> Other Sunnite scholars differed in their opinions concerning him; some, like al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī, while rejecting the theory that he was a Rāfiḍite, definitely considered him to have Shī'ite sympathies and others, like as-Subkī, arguing that Shī'ite doctrines are only rarely favoured by traditionalist scholars, rejected both contentions and indicated that al-Ḥakīm's shaykhs had their source in the Sunnite teachings of the

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1. H. Kh., I, 308; T. K. M., 228; see above.,

2. Tadh., III, 230; H. Kh., II, 1672; Shadh., III, 176-7; Subk., III, 70.

3. Tadh., III, 230, 233; T. Q., II, 185; Subk., III, 68. see above, 261.

Ash'arites and pointed out that in his history al-Ḥākim was always more than fair in his judgements about the Ash'arites.<sup>1</sup>

In general, it may be mentioned, that although al-Ḥākim may have erred slightly in mentioning certain sound traditions, he was extremely accurate in his information and very lucid and perceptive in his more systematic writings and fully deserved his reputation as a great traditionist.

During this century, several other distinguished traditionists inhabited Nishapur. The most important of them were said to belong to the Shāfi'ite juridical school and to be Ash'arites in theological matters, while the others, who were either Ḥanafites or Karrāmites or Shī'ites, can be disregarded in this introduction because they did not have much influence in this field.

In the generation after al-Ḥākim the names of al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ), al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ) and Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ) are outstanding as traditionist scholars. Al-Bayhaqī, a pupil of al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī, derived his distinction as the traditionist of his time from his studies on the works of al-Ḥākim. He is credited with having had a hundred shaykhs, although it is also said that he was unaquainted with the Sunans of either at-Tirmidhī or Ibn-Māja.<sup>2</sup>

He is described by as-Subkī as "one of the great mountains of knowledge" and about one of his books, As-Sunan al-

1. Khaṭ., V, 474; Subk., III, 67; Tadh., III, 310.

2. T K M , 266, Subk., III, 3.

kubrā, he remarks that there was "nothing like it for its arrangement, adjustment and excellence".<sup>1</sup> As-Subkī also considered that al-Bayhaqī had written another book, Al-Khilāfiyyāt, which was unique of the introduction of a new and entirely independent manner in dealing with different opinions among the scholars. As well as being an Ash'arite in theology, al-Bayhaqī was a brilliant Shāfi'ite jurist and his most famous legal work is his collection of the Shāfi'ite legal maxims or precepts, the Nuṣūs ash-Shāfi'ī. As-Subkī however rejects adh-Dhahabī's opinion about this work - that, it was the first of such collections - and instead holds the opinion that there had been many more earlier collections, none of which however achieved the excellence of al-Bayhaqī's work.<sup>2</sup>

A contemporary of al-Bayhaqī, al-Mu'adhdhin, was also noted as a traditionist and a mystic. It is said that al-Mu'adhdhin and al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī taught traditions to each other and that al-Mu'adhdhin heard traditions in Gurgān Rayy, Iraq, Ḥijāz and Syria. In Nishapur, he was appointed professor of al-Bayhaqiyya madrasa and the administration of religious endowments was confided into his care. He was also put in charge of the arrangements connected with the teaching and dictating of traditions within the city, and he

1. Subk., III, 4.

2. Ibid., III, 4; Tadh., III, 310. Shadh., III, 305; Irsh., I, 219-21.

was also chosen to be the mu'adhdhin at al-Bayhaqiyya madrasa. Despite all these official duties he found time to compile works on traditions and on the shaykhs. His most important work was a history of Marw, the Ta'rīkh Marw, but unfortunately he did not keep a copy of this book. However the draft was found by 'Abd-al-Qādir ibn-Ismā'īl and used by him in the writing of his history. There is also evidence of some other teachings of al-Mu'adhdhin from the acknowledgement by his pupil 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV, Y. 8 ) that in his book entitled As-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr he had included some notes which he had taken from al-Mu'adhdhin's lectures.<sup>1</sup> Other traditionists in the city of Nishapur held al-Mu'adhdhin in such high regard that some of them bequeathed to him their books on their deaths.<sup>2</sup>

The third prominent Shāfi'ite who was also a noted traditionist scholar was Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī. He came from a family which had already by the time of the Ghaznavids become distinguished for its scholarship and patronage. It is reported that there was the Ṣābūniyya madrasa in Nishapur where a copy of the famous hundred volume compendium of the Qur'ānic sciences, which had been made for the Prince Khalaf ibn-Aḥmad of Sistān, was kept.<sup>3</sup> Aṣ-Ṣābūnī was trained from

1. Siyāq., ff.31b-32a. Tadh., III, 335-336; see below, (List No.2), 627.
2. Siyāq., f.32a.
3. 'Utbi, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī, I, 375-77; Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i Yamīnī, 158; cf. Bos., 178-179.

an early age in the various Islamic sciences and he is reputed to have begun his preaching in Nishapur at the age of ten. In his travels throughout Khurasan, Syria, Iraq, and Ḥijāz, he met a number of eminent scholars from whom he received traditions. In particular, it is mentioned that during his visit to Syria he met the famous poet Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī at Ma'arrat-an-Nu'mān.<sup>1</sup> Aṣ-Ṣābūnī's reputation as a scholar and as a man of piety became so great that he was called in his lifetime Shaykh-al-Islam and Sayf-as-Sunna. Ṭāsh-Kūpre-zāde considers that the title of Shaykh al-Islām was only given to aṣ-Ṣābūnī, but it appears to have also been given to the leader of the Ḥanbalites in Herat, 'Abd-Allāh al-Anṣārī.<sup>2</sup> Aṣ-Ṣābūnī appears to have written several books which were all extant in Yāqūt's time but only al-Mi'atayn, which is a collection of a hundred traditions and the stories connected with them, has survived until our time.<sup>3</sup>

In the later decades of the eleventh century, when the Niẓāmiyya madrasa became the educational centre in Nishapur, some of those who held the post of professor at this madrasa were also noted traditionists. Among those who could be

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1. Siyāq., f. 58b.

2. Miftāḥ., II, 181; see the account given by Ibn-Rajab on Abū-Isma'il 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Alī al-Anṣārī, Adh-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 50-60.

3. G A L, I, 446; G A L S, I, 618.

mentioned were Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabsī ( III. Q. 66 ), Abū-Sa'd ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 60 ) and Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jurjānī ( III. Q. 61 ). Abū-Sa'd is reported to have used the an-Nasā'ī's text as-Sunan as the main subject in his lectures.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.91b; see below, (List No.2), 627-628.

Q

THE TRADITIONISTS (1000 - 1100)

## Q.1 Al-Baḥīrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Baḥīr. His kunya was Abū-'Amr. Al-Baḥīrī was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions from his father and from others in Khurasan, such as Yaḥyā ibn-Manṣūr al-Qāḍī, 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad al-Ka'bī and Muḥammad ibn-al-Mu'ammal. In Nishapur, he became associated with the famous Shāfi'ite jurist Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ). He died in 1005.

Al-Baḥīrī is regarded by adh-Dhahabī and others as a reliable traditionist. He was noted for his skill in conducting the discussion assemblies in which traditions were debated. Adh-Dhahabī also mentioned that al-Baḥīrī compiled a collection of traditions entitled al-Arba'īn. This collection was found in the possession of his son Abū-'Uthmān Sa'īd ibn-Muḥammad.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.2 Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'inī

His name was 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was born in 922 in Isfarā'in and came from a family distinguished for the scholars it produced. The maternal uncle of his father, Abū-'Awāna ( II. I. 16 ), was the most renowned traditionist scholar of his time and from him

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1. Tadh., III, 267; Shadh., III, 148.

the young Abū-Nu‘aym acquired his knowledge of the former's Musnad, in which he later specialised as a transmitter. He also studied traditions under his father, al-Ḥasan and under Abū-‘l-‘Abbas al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). In 1008-9, he came to Nishapur and stayed as a guest in the house of the famous Shāfi‘ite scholar al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ). His reputation at that time was so great that al-Fārisī mentions that the notable leaders, professors and jurists abandoned their duties to come and study the Musnad of Abū-‘Awāna under him. Among the young students who attended his lectures in Nishapur were Abū-‘l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ), Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu‘adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ), Abū-Bakr al-Muzakkī ( III.Q.59) and Fāṭima bint-ad-Daqqāq ( III.V.13). Abū-Nu‘aym continued his stay in Nishapur for a few months longer and then returned to Isfarā’in where he died shortly thereafter in 1009.<sup>1</sup>

### Q.3 Al-Ḥakim Abū-‘Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamduwayh ibn-Nu‘aym ibn-al-Ḥakam, known by his maternal family's nisbas of aḏ-Ḍabbī and aṭ-Ṭahmānī and also by the appellation of Ibn-al-Bayyi‘. Al-Ḥakim was born in 933 in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> He began under the care of his father and

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1. Siyāq., ff.94a-b; Shadh., III, 159.

2. T K M, 227; Subk., III, 64; Tadh., III, 227; Muntazam., VII 274; Khaṭ., V, 473.



his maternal uncle to hear traditions in 941-43.<sup>1</sup> This highly learned man studied jurisprudence under the Nishapurian master Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu‘lūkī ( II. L. 1 ), and in Baghdad under Abū-Hurayra. Some say that he also studied in Mecca under Abū-’l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). He also wrote down traditions under Ibn-Ḥibbān<sup>2</sup> ( II. K. 9 ). Al-Ḥākim visited Iraq three times. The first was in 952 during which visit he also made a pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>3</sup> In 989, he was appointed qāḍī to Nasā and a year after his appointment, he made his second visit to Iraq.<sup>4</sup> His third visit appears from the statement given by Ibn-Khallikān and Ibn-‘Asākir that he dictated traditions in Iraq in 977. His travels also covered Khurasan and Transoxiana. In the latter he dictated traditions in 965.<sup>5</sup>

Al-Ḥākim held the qāḍīship of Nasā under the Sāmānid government during the Vizierateship of Abū-Ja‘far al-‘Utbi. Subsequently he was appointed qāḍī to Gurgān but he refused to accept this post. He was also employed by the Sāmānid as a messenger and was occasionally sent on political missions to

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1. I Kh., II, 681; Tadh., III, Loc cit; Subk; Loc cit.,

2. Wafī, III, 320; T Q, II, 185.

3. Tadh., III, Loc cit; Subk., Loc.cit.

4. T K M, 229; I Kh, II, 682; cf. Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣās (II.J.16)

5. Ibid., II, Loc.cit.

the court of the Buwayhid princes. He died in Nishapur in 1014.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ḥākim was particularly known as a traditionist and scholar. His interest in traditions led him to study relevant subjects such as jurisprudence and the Qur'ān.<sup>2</sup> As a traditionist, he was credited with having heard traditions from about 2,000 shaykhs in different districts, the names of a number of whom are given. Mention is also made of many who delivered traditions from him. Among those were the Nishapurians Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ). One remarkable traditionist of Iraq, Dāraqutnī, who was one of his shaykhs also delivered traditions from him.<sup>3</sup> Mention is also made of teachers with whom he studied the Qur'ān and a number of mystics with whom he was associated.<sup>4</sup> Al-Ḥākim derived his reputation particularly from his writings. That he was a voluminous writer is shown by the following list given by Ibn-'Asākir:-<sup>5</sup>

1. Aṣ-ṣaḥīḥān.
2. Al-'Ilal.
3. Al-Amālī.
4. Fawā'id an-naskh.

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1. I Kh., II, 682; TKM, loc.cit; Muntazam., VII, 275.

2. T Q, II, 185; Shadh., III, 177; Subk., III, 65.

3. TKM, 228; Kh., II, 681; Khat, V, 473; Tadh., III, 227-8; Subk., Loc.cit;

4. Ibid., Loc.cit; T Q, II, Loc.cit.

5. TKM, Loc.cit.

5. Fawā'id al-Khurāsāniyyīn.
6. Amālī al-'ashayāt.
7. At-Talkhīṣ.
8. Al-Abwāb.
9. Tarājim ash-shuyūkh.
10. Ma'rifat anwā' 'ulūm al-ḥadīth.
11. Ta'riḫ 'ulamā' Naysābūr.
12. Muzakki al-akhbār.
13. Al-Madkhal ilā al-'ilm aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ.
14. Al-Iklīl fī dalā'il an-nubuwa.
15. Al-Mustadrak 'alal aṣ-ṣaḥīḥayn.
16. Mā - tafarrad bi-ikhrājihi kull wālīd min al-imāmayn.
17. Faḍā'il ash-Shāfi'i.
18. Tarājim al-musnad 'alā shart aṣ-ṣaḥīḥayn.

These are only a selection of his works. Ibn-Khallikān and Ḥajjī-Khalīfa mention also Fawā'id ash-shuyūkh, which is not an alternative title for No.9. Report is also made of the following work:-

19. Al-Arba'in,
20. Faḍā'il Faṭīma,
21. Aḍ-ḍu'afa'.
22. Al-Madkhal il-'l-iklīl.<sup>1</sup>

Of his books, three have survived, No.10, No.15 and No.22. Al-Ḥākim wrote his book No.11 in eight volumes. This book is lost but a copy of this book was apparently in the possession of Ḥajjī-

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1. I Kh., I, 613; H Kh., I, 55; II, 1277, 1298.

Khalīfa, who quotes the beginning and the end of the book and writes: "The majority of the persons mentioned in it were his shaykhs or the shaykhs of his shaykhs. He mentioned also the Companions and the Followers of the Prophet who came to Khurasan and settled there, and gives a brief account of their nisbas and their history. Next, he mentioned the second generation of the Followers, then the generations of the 3rd and the 4th of the Hijra. He divided them all into six categories. The last category included those persons who delivered traditions between the year 933 and 990. 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) continued this work down to 1124, and adh-Dhahabī (d. 1348) and al-Khalīfa-an-Naysābūrī also made abridged versions of this work.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.4 Abū-Ja'far al-Mustamlī

His name was Kāmil ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and learned traditions from Abū-'l-'Abbās aṣ-Ṣibghī ( II. I. 30 ), Abū-'Alī Muḥammad al-Karābīsī and from others. He became noted as a reliable traditionist and taught traditions in Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz. In the later period of his life he joined the Karrāmite sect, after an argument with some Sunnite scholars in that city. He died in 1014.<sup>2</sup>

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1. H Kh., I, 308; G A L, I, 175; G A L S, I, 276-277; see above, "Introduction to the Sources"; for further biographical information with references, see Robson's introduction to the translation of al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī's work, al-Madkhal ilā ma'rifat al-iklīl, 1-8.

2. Siyāq., f.125b.

## Q.5      Abū-Naṣr ash-Shīrāzī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Shīrāz but he lived in Nishapur. He was associated with the Ṣu‘lūkī Family and made acquaintance with the Nishapurian Shāfi‘ite scholar, Abū-‘l-Walīd Ḥassān al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). He received traditions from al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and from others. Traditions also were taught on his authority by Aḥmad ibn-‘Abd-al-Malik al-Faqīh. He died in 1018.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.6      Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Maḥmish. He formed his nisba az-Ziyādī from the name of one of his ancestors called Ziyād.<sup>2</sup>

Az-Ziyādī was a native of Nishapur born in 929, and in the year 956-57 he learned traditions from Abū-Ḥamid ibn-Bilāl, Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān, ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Ya‘qūb al-Kirmānī and others. In 939, he studied Shāfi‘ite jurisprudence under the tuition of Abū-‘l-Walīd Ḥassān al-Qurashī ( III. K. 8 ).<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq. f.4a.

2. Lub., I, 515; Ans., f.283a.

3. Subk., III, 82-3. Shadh., III, 192.

Az-Ziyādī's fame was established in Khurasan as the imām of traditions as well as a dedicated Shāfi'ite jurist. He died in his native city in the year 1019. Az-Ziyādī as a traditionist was specialized in the subject of shurūṭ and on this topic he compiled a book entitled ash-Shurūṭ, which seems to be lost.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.7 Al-Jūlakī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-'Alī. His kunya was Abū-Sa'd. He was a native of Gurgān, born in 963. He studied the science of traditions under Ṣāhib ibn-Aḥmad al-Hamadhānī, Abū-Aḥmad al-'Abdawī and Abū-Bakr al-Ismā'īlī. The latter was his father in law. He then became ra'īs of the city.

In 1015, the governor of Gurgān, Manūchihr ibn-Qābūs, chose him and Abū-Bakr ash-Shālanjī ( III. Q. 20 ) to be members of a diplomatic mission to the Ghaznavids officials in Nishapur. On their arrival in Nishapur, both scholars, al-Jūlakī and ash-Shālanjī, held an assembly for the dictation of traditions. Then al-Jūlakī, with his associate ash-Shālanjī, returned to Gurgān and it is reported that al-Jūlakī visited Nishapur for the second time. He died in his native city of Gurgān in the year 1019.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.2b.

2. Ibid., f.3b; Lub., I, 254; Ans. f.143b.

## Q.8 As-Sayyid Abū-Manṣūr al-Ghāzī

His name was Zafar ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zabbāra. He was a native of Nishapur and the brother of the naqīb of the 'Alids, Abū-Muḥammad az-Zabbāra.<sup>1</sup> In his native place, he studied traditions under Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and others; he made the pilgrimage at Mecca, then he visited Baghdad, where he studied traditions under Muḥammad ibn-Mukhallad. In spite of being an 'Alid scholar, he is regarded as a reliable traditionist. He organised the collection and copying of traditions and maxims on jurisprudence, and it is reported that al-Ḥākim an-Naysāburī ( III. Q. 3 ), extracted from his compilations many sound traditions. During the latter years of his life, his house was burnt and all of his works were destroyed. He died in 1019.<sup>2</sup>

## Q.9 Ibn-Bāluwayhi

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Bāluwayhi. His kunya was Abū-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He started learning traditions from his father Abū-'Alī, and later received traditions from al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭarā'ifī ( II. K. 14 ) and

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1. I Fun., 168.

2. Siyāq., f.78b.

others throughout Iraq and Khurasan.

He became one of the well known masters of traditions in Nishapur and he began a course in which he taught traditions in his house. It is reported that among the students who copied traditions from him were Abū-'Amr al-Baḥīrī ( III. Q. 1 ) and 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-'Ammārī, and also that Aḥmad ibn-'Alī extracted sound traditions from his lectures. He taught traditions for only one year and died in 1019.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.10 Abū Zur'a al-Bardījī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far ibn-al-Ḥasan. His father was a native of Bardīj which was a town in the province of Adharbayjān,<sup>2</sup> but he was born in Nishapur. He studied the science of traditions under Abū-Bakr al-Ismā'īlī, Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Hamadḥānī, Abū-Bakr al-Āmulī and from their 'class', ṭabaqa. He died in 1021. Abū-Zur'a was regarded as a traditionist and reliable transmitter as well as a man of letters.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff.88a-b; Shadh., III, 190-91.

2. For the nisba "al-Bardījī", see Lub., I, 10; Ans., f.72b; and "Bardīj", M B, I, 556.

3. Siyāq., f.5b.



## Q.11      Abū-‘Abd-Allāh Dīnawarī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Dīnawar but came to Nishapur in 1022 and took up residence in aṭ-Ṭarasūsī khanqāh. There some Nishapurians studied traditions under him, such as Abū-‘l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ), al-Mu‘adhdhin ( III.Q.62 ), Ibn-Rāmish (III. Q. 29 ) and others. It is reported that he delivered traditions for over 40 years and also that he wrote several books on them, but none of his books are named by his biographers. He died in Nishapur in 1023 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥīra.<sup>1</sup>

Q.12      Abū-Ḥamid al-Muwālqābādhi<sup>2</sup>

His name was Aḥmad ibn-‘Abd-al-‘Azīz ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 953 in the quarter of Muwālqābādh in Nishapur. He studied traditions at first under Abū-‘l-‘Abbās aṣ-Ṣibghī ( II. I. 30 ) and others in Nishapur, and then later under Abū-‘Amr ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ) and Abū-Sahl al-Astarābādhi.

He was a reliable traditionist. Although he was associated with the mystics in Nishapur, there is no evidence

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1. Siyāq., f.56a.

2. The above mentioned title is pronounced as Yāqūt gives in M B , IV, 676, but according to as-Sam‘ānī and Ibn-al-Athīr it is pronounced 'al-Mūlqābādhi'; Ans., f.545a; Lub., III 190-91.

that he became a mystic, except that the khangāh in the quarter of Muwālqābādh where he was born was named after him. He died in 1023.<sup>1</sup>

Q.13 Abū-Bakr as-Sukkarī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sa'īd ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Sa'īd. He was a native of Nishapur. He heard traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and his contemporaries. He also heard traditions during his travels in Jibāl and Baghdad from Abū-'Alī an-Naṣībī and from others. His fame was established in Nishapur as a reliable traditionist. Abū-Bakr's death occurred in 1025.<sup>2</sup>

Q.14 Abū-Bakr ar-Rajā'ī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Rajā'. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions from al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), Abū-Bakr as-Ṣibghī ( II. K. 7 ), Muḥammad ibn-Yaq'ūb al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Kārzī, Yahya ibn-Manṣūr al-Qāḍī and from their 'class', ṭabaqa. It is reported also that traditions were delivered on his authority

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1. Siyāq., f.24a.

2. Ibid., f.79b.

by Ismā'īl al-Ḥajjājī. He died in 1025. According to al-Fārisī, he was a reliable traditionist as well as a man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

Q.15 Abū-Bakr al-Farrā'

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm al-Mu'adhdhin. He was a follower of the Karrāmite sect and studied the science of traditions under Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Jallād and from his 'class', ṭabaqa. He died in 1025. Abū-Bakr was a sound traditionist and mention is made that Abū-'Amr ibn-Yaḥya wrote down traditions from him.<sup>2</sup>

Q.16 Abū-Ḥāzim al-'Abdawī

His name was 'Umar ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur. During his youth his father took him to learn traditions from the Nishapurians Ibn-Najīd ( II.N.11 ), Ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj and from others. He went to learn traditions in Khurasan, Iraq and Ḥijāz. He went to Baghdad in the year 998, where he taught traditions, and among those who learned traditions from him in Baghdad were Abū-'l-Faṭḥ ibn-al-Fawāris, Abū-Bakr al-Khaṭīb

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1. Siyāq., f.4a; for the nisba "al-Farrā'", see Abū-Aḥmad al-Farrā' ( I. A. 36 ).

2. Siyāq., f.4b.

and others. He died in 1026. Al-‘Abdawī was regarded as a reliable traditionist, in fact as one of the best traditionists in Khurasan.<sup>1</sup>

Q.17 Abū-’l-Qāsim as-Sarrāj

His name was ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned jurisprudence in his birth place under Abū-’l-Walīd Ḥassān al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ) and learned traditions from Abū-’l-‘Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), Abū-Manṣūr Muḥammad ibn-al-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣibghī, Abn-’l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭarā’ifī ( II. K. 14 ) and others. He died in Nishapur in the year 1027.

Abū-’l-Qāsim is regarded as reliable traditionist with some knowledge of Shāfi‘ite doctrine. Eminent scholars such as Abū-’l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ), Fāṭima bint-ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 13 ), Abū-Sa‘d ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 29 ) Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu’adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ) and others, delivered traditions on his authority.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 7; Siyāq., f.108a; Shadh., III, 208; Lub., II, 113; Ans., f.381a; Tadh., III, 258.

2. Subk., III, 228; Siyāq., f.87b; for the nisba "as-Sarrāj", see Abū-’l-‘Abbās as-Sarrāj ( II. I. 12 ).

## Q.18     Abū-Bakr an-Nasā'ī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-az-Zubayr ibn-al-Akhṭal. He was a native of Nasā and the son of a mystic. He learned traditions from Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and his contemporaries in Nishapur. It is reported also that he studied the science of jurisprudence during his visit to Baghdad. At Nasā he became a preacher and reader of the Qur'ān but he established his reputation as a leading muftī of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur. He ranked also as a high authority in the traditions and students of many countries travelled to Nishapur for the purpose of hearing traditions from him. He died in 1027 and was buried in his native city of Nasā.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.19     Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣayrafī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Ḥaydar. He was born in Nishapur, in 945, in ar-Ramjār, which was a quarter of that city. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and 'Amr ibn-Najīd as-Sulamī ( II. N. 11 ). He was regarded by Fārisī as a reliable traditionist. He died in 1027.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f. 3a., Shadh., III, 210.

2. Siyāq., floc.cit; for the nisba "aṣ-Ṣayrafī", see Ibn-Bundār (II. N. 10).

## Q.20      Abū-Bakr ash-Shālanjī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Yūsuf ibn-al-Faḍl. He was a native of Gurgān. He received traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan ibn-Māja al-Qazwīnī, Nu'aym ibn-'Abd-al-Mālīk ibn-Muḥammad, Abū-'Abd ar-Raḥmān Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamdān and from Abū-Bakr al-Ismā'īlī, either in his native city Gurgān or during his travels in Khurasan. He visited Nishapur in 1015 on a diplomatic mission with the ra'īs al-Jūlakī ( III. Q. 7 ) during which he and al-Jūlakī dictated traditions in an assembly held for both of them. He died in his native city Gurgān in 1027. Ash-Shālanjī was qāḍī as well as muftī and professor in Gurgān. He was held in high esteem as a scholar of that city.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.21      Abū-Bakr al-Fārisī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad. Although he was a native of Fāris, he resided in Nishapur. He was a pupil of al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ) with whom he also studied traditions in Nishapur. He continued to study traditions, first in that city under al-Jawzaqī ( II. I. 42 ) and others, and then in Baghdad under Abū-Bakr Ḥafṣ al-Jīlānī and other masters. He died sometime before the year 1029. Abū-Bakr is regarded by al-Fārisī as

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1. Siyaq., f.3b.

a reliable traditionist. He was also a writer and a compiler of traditions but none of his compilations is mentioned by his biographer al-Fārisī.<sup>1</sup>

Q.22      Abū-Qābūs as-Sijzī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān. He was a native of Sijistān but he inhabited Nishapur and resided in the Muwālḡābādh quarter. Then he left Nishapur and dwelt in Nūḡān. During his stay in these two cities, he studied traditions from Abū-’l-Ḥasan an-Naḥwī, Abū-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Manda and from Abū-‘Umar Ja‘far al-Bukhārī. It is suggested that he died before the year 1029.<sup>2</sup>

Q.23      Abū-’l-Muẓaffar al-Ustuwā’ī

Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad al-Ḥākīm was his name. He was a native of Ustuwā. He visited Nishapur several times. He received traditions in Nishapur from his father and from Bishr ibn-Aḥmad al-Isfarā’inī. He died after the year 1029. Abū-’l-Muẓaffar was considered as imām of the traditionists in the district of Ustuwā. He became also a ra’īs of that district.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.5b.

2. Ibid., f.5a.

3. Ibid., f.5b.

## Q.24      Abū-Sa'īd aṣ-Ṣayrafī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Mūsā ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-Shādhān. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions from al-Aṣamm (II. I. 28 ), 'Abd-Allāh aṣ-Ṣaffār al-Iṣfahānī and Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Muḥāmili in Nishapur. He studied also the works of his father on the principles of jurisprudence, which seem to have been lost at the time of al-Fārisī. In addition, he read most of the notes of traditions which were kept by the Nishapurians. He died in 1030. Abū-Sa'īd is regarded by al-Fārisī as a reliable traditionist as well as a man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.25      Abū-Naṣr al-Ḥadhdhā'

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was probably born in 933 and became a maker of 'slippers' in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> He copied traditions from masters who had died before al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), but his copies were lost during his pilgrimage to Mecca in 975. He studied traditions from al-Aṣamm and from some of the succeeding generation, such as Abū-'Amr ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan ibn-Bundār aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( II. N. 10 ) and Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj. In 1025, Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ) heard traditions

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1. Siyāq., f.4b; Shadh., III, 220.

2. For the nisba "al-Ḥadhdhā'", see Lub., I, 286; Ans., f.160a.



delivered on his authority in Nishapur. He died in 1031.

Al-Ḥadhdhā' was a member of the Ḥanafite sect. As a traditionist he can be regarded as unreliable because Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin said of him that "he makes mistakes in the citation of the traditions and he gives traditions whose transmissions cannot be followed".<sup>1</sup>

Q.26      Abū-'Abd-Allāh as-Sarrāj

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in Nishapur in 960. He learned traditions in his native place from his father Abū-Bakr, and from 'Amr ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ), Ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ), al-Ḥajjājī ( II. O. 3 ) and others of the same generation as the latter. Abū-'Abd-Allāh is regarded by al-Fārisī as a reliable traditionist. He died in 1033.<sup>2</sup>

Q.27      Abū-Ṭāhir al-Hamadhānī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Hamadān and was the maternal grandfather of the Shī'ite leader, Abū-Ṭālib al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Hamadhānī.

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1. Siyāq., f.24b.

2. Ibid., f.7a; Abū-'Abd-Allāh was the brother of the above-mentioned traditionist Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sarrāj (III.Q.17).

He came to Nishapur to study traditions under Abū-‘Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) and others. He then moved to Sarakhs where he became the follower of Zāhir ibn-Aḥmad al-Ḥāfiẓ and copied traditions under him. In Marw, he read the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) under al-Kashmīhanī. He made another journey to Transoxiana and then returned to his native place of Hamadān where he taught traditions and dictated them, until his death in 1033.<sup>1</sup>

Q.28      Abū-‘Uthmān az-Za‘farānī

His name was Sa‘īd ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Ḥasan. He came from a village in Baghdad called Za‘farāniyya,<sup>2</sup> but he later resided in the al-Ḥīra quarter of Nishapur. In Nishapur he studied traditions under Abū-‘Amr ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ) and others and he also heard traditions in Ḥijāz and Iraq, where he studied under Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Kūfī and Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Mufīd. He was noted as a reliable traditionist but mainly known as a master of the different systems of reading the Qur’ān. He died in 1036.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.58a.

2. See the nisba "az-Za‘farānī", Ans., f.275a; Lub., I, 502; see also "Za‘farāniyya", M B, II, 631.

3. Siyāq., f.67b.

## Q.29 Ibn-Rāmish

His name was Manṣūr ibn-Rāmish ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur. He heard traditions in Nishapur from the disciples of as-Sarrāj (II.I.12), and in Baghdad from Ibn-Shāhīn, Dāraqūṭnī and others. In the city of Kūfa, he learned traditions from Abū-‘l-Ḥakīm ad-Dārimī and finally in Ḥijāz from Abū-‘l-Ḥusayn Yaḥyā ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Mālṭī. Ibn-Rāmish became one of the most distinguished scholars in Nishapur and it is reported that he taught traditions for 30 years there. His excellent reputation attracted the attention of the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas‘ūd who appointed him deputy of the ra’īs of Nishapur, Ḥasanak. He died in 1036.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.30 Ibn-al-Falakī

His name was ‘Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Aḥmad. His kunya was Abū-‘l-Faḍl. He was a native of Hamadān, but he dwelt in Nishapur. He heard traditions in the latter city from Abū-Sa‘īd aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( III.Q.24 ), Abū-Bakr al-Ḥīrī ( III.S.6 ) and from others.<sup>2</sup>

He became primarily renowned as a reliable traditionist. He was also considered a mathematician and astronomer. It is related that al-Falakī wrote a large book containing

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1. Siyāq., f.129; Ans., f.244b; Lub., I, 453; see above, 263.

2. Tadh., III, 303.

1000 chapters on the subject of the biographies of his shaykhs, under the title al-Muntahā fī 'l-kamāl fī ma'rifat ar-rijāl. This book is no longer extant. Al-Falakī died in Nishapur in 1036.<sup>1</sup>

### Q.31 Abū-'l-Qasam al-Jurjānī

His name was Ḥamza ibn-Yūsuf. He was a native of Gurgān where he learned traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Isma'īlī and others. He continued his study of traditions in Khurasan and Iraq. In 1015, he was sent by the Ghaznavid Sultan Mas'ūd on a diplomatic mission to Nishapur, but nothing is known of the nature of the mission. He died in 1036. He was regarded as a very reliable traditionist and a good writer, and, according to al-Fārisī, he composed several works on biographies and traditions, but none of these are named.<sup>2</sup>

### Q.32 Abū-'Amr al-Biṣṭāmī

His name was Muḥammad ibn 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in 952, a native of Biṣṭām, which was a city in the province of Qūmis, but he dwelt in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup> He studied the principles of Shāfi'ite

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1. Shadh., III, 231; Sakhāwī., al-I'lān bi-'t-tawbikh., 347.

2. Siyāq., f.60b.

3. For the nisba "al-Biṣṭāmī", see Ans., f.81a; Lub., I, 123; M\_B, I, 623.

jurisprudence with some devotion, under the tuition of Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu‘lūkī ( II. L. 1 ). He then wrote down traditions in Gurgān from Abū-Bakr al-Ismā‘īlī and Ibn-‘Adī. At the end of his life, he returned to his native place of Biṣṭām, where he died in 1036. Al-Biṣṭāmī was a reliable traditionist and a man of letters. He was identified as belonging to the Shāfi‘ite sect.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.33 Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Muzakkī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sakhtuwayhi. He was a native of Nishapur. He commenced his study of the science of tradition under his father and later under Ibn-Najīd (II.N.11), Abū-‘l-‘Abbās aṣ-Ṣibghī (II.I.30) and other masters. He became an authoritative traditionist and transmitter of Nishapur. Other scholars learned from the citing of traditions on his authority: for example, Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī ibn-Finjuwayhī extracted from his discourses sound traditions and many of his maxims on the science of jurisprudence were quoted by Abū-Ḥāzim al-‘Abdawī ( III. Q. 16 ). Al-Muzakkī died in 1036 in Nishapur and was buried in Bābak's graveyard.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.9b; according to Ibn-‘Imād, al-Biṣṭāmī died in 1034. Shadh, III, 230.

2. Ibid., III, 233; Siyāq., f.6b.

## Q.34 Abū-Bakr al-Mushshāt

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Fārisī. He was a native of Fārs but dwelt in Juwayn. Frequently he came to the city of Nishapur where he studied traditions under Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj (II.I.12), Ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Bundār ( II. N. 10 ), and their contemporaries. He was killed by the Turkmen in 1037 during his visit to the city of Isfarā'in. Abū-Bakr was a reliable traditionist and it is believed that many men heard traditions under him in Nishapur, but none of these auditors are mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.35 Abū-Ibrāhīm an-Naṣrābādhi

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad; as his name indicates, he was born in the district of Naṣrābādh in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> He was the son of the famous Shaykh of Khurasan, Abū-'l-Qāsim ( II. N. 12), who taught him traditions. He also studied in Khurasan, Jibāl, Iraq and Ḥijāz, and the names of many of the masters under whom he studied have already been given. He was reputed to be a reliable traditionist as well as being a preacher and a mystic. For several years he dictated traditions in Nishapur. He died in 1037.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.6b.

2. See Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādhi (II. N. 12).

3. Siyāq., f.38a.

## Q.36      Abū-‘Ubayd ash-Shīrāzī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Shīrāz but he resided in Nishapur where he was appointed amin of the merchants in the Khān al-Furs. He studied traditions under Abū-‘Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) and other masters. It is reported that al-Falakī ( III.Q.30 ) learned from the citing of traditions on his authority and wrote down traditions from him. Abū-‘Ubayd died in 1038.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.37      Abū-Bakr as-Sūrīnī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī. He was a native of Sūrīn, which was a town situated one farsakh from Nishapur<sup>2</sup> but he later came to Nishapur and resided in the quarter of Muwālqābādh. He studied traditions under Abū-Bakr al-Fāmī and al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad al-Qaṭṭān. He was regarded as a reliable traditionist. He died in 1038.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.7b.

2. For the nisba "as-Sūrīnī", see, Ans., 317a; Lub., I, 576; and "Sūrīn", M B , III, 186.

3. Siyāq., f. loc.cit.

## Q.38 Ibn-‘Alīk

His name was ‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Alīk. He was better known by his appellation of Ibn-‘Alīk. He was born into a wealthy Nishapurian family. He devoted his life to the study of various Islamic disciplines. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ), whose disciple he became, and also from Abū-Sa‘īd ar-Rāzī, Abū-Bakr ibn-Shādhān, Dāraqutnī, Abū-‘l-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbī and from many others throughout Khurasan and Iraq. He dictated traditions for many years in the mosque of al-Muṭarriz. It has already been mentioned that many eminent scholars delivered traditions on his authority and among them were Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Fārisī, Abū-‘l-Ma‘ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ) and Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu‘adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ). As well as being a reliable traditionist, he is known to be the author of a biographical work entitled al-Ḥuffaḥ but this book has not survived. He died in 1039.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.39 Abū-‘Uthmān al-Qurashī

His name was Sa‘d ibn-al-‘Abbās ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī. He was born in 960, a native of Herat and a descendent from the Arabian tribe of Quraysh. He first

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1. Siyāq., f.89b.



learned traditions in his native place from his father and later from ar-Raffā', Abū-Manṣūr az-Zāhirī and others. It is reputed that he also heard traditions in the cities of Būshanj, Nishapur and Baghdad. In Nishapur, he apparently heard traditions from Abū-Sa'īd al-Mukhalladī and Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ). He made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1021 where he dictated traditions and many of the already famous scholars in that city attended his dictations and selected from them many sound traditions. He returned to the place where he was born and continued to teach traditions there until his death in 1041.<sup>1</sup>

Q.40 Abū-Sa'd an-Naysābūrī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamdān. He was a native of Nishapur. He is known to have heard traditions from Abū-'Amr ibn-Najīd ( II.N.11 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj and from others in Nishapur. He started dictating traditions in the ancient mosque in Nishapur and taught there for many years. He died in 1041. He is regarded by al-Fārisī as one of the most reliable traditionists of his time and many scholars extracted from his lectures and discourses sound traditions and fawā'id.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.37b; for the nisba "al-Qurashī", see Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī (II. K. 8).

2. Siyāq., f.89b.

## Q.4      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Muwālqābādhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ja'far. He was a native of Nishapur where he resided in the quarter of Muwālqābādh. He studied traditions under his father, Abū-'Amr ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ), Abū-'Amr ibn-Maṭar ( II. I. 37 ), Abū-'l-'Abbās aṣ-Ṣibghī ( II. I. 30 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj and under others in Khurasan and Baghdad. He was regarded as an authoritative traditionist. He died in 1041.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.42      Amīrak

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was a native of Nishapur and was the son in law of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Muwālqābādhi (III:Q.41). He himself studied traditions under Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākīm ( II. I. 43 ) and Abū-Bakr ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ) and he later went to Gurgān, where he taught traditions until his return to Nishapur, where he continued his teaching for a few months, until his death in 1043. He was a reliable traditionist and was also a member of the Shāfi'ite sect.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.7b; for the nisba "al-Muwālqābādhi", see Abū-Ḥamid al-Muwālqābādhi (III. Q. 12).

2. Siyāq., f.8a.

## Q.43 Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān Ash-Shādhyākhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja‘far. He resided in the district of Ash-Shādhyākh which was built by the Amīr ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir.<sup>1</sup> He studied traditions in Khurasan and Mecca, where he had probably gone on a pilgrimage. Mention has already been made of the numerous scholars from whom he learnt traditions, among them being the Nishapurians Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣibghī ( II. K. 7 ), al-Jawzaqī ( II. I. 42 ), Abū-Ṭāhir ibn-Khuzayma and Abū-’l-Ḥasan al-‘Abdawī. After he had mastered the science of traditions, he started to dictate them, an occupation which he continued for 10 years in the mosque of ‘Aqīl in Nishapur. He died in the city of Arghiyān in the year 1048. He was regarded as one of the most reliable teachers of traditions in Nishapur. He also taught with Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Būkhārī ( I. A. 23 ) and the Muttafiq of al-Jawzaqī.<sup>2</sup>

## Q.44 Al-Ḥākim Abū-‘Abd-Allāh an-Nasawī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī. He was born in Nasā in 951. He read the Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ ( I. A. 28 ), under Abū-Aḥmad al-Jārūdī and later travelled throughout Khurasan where he studied traditions in Nishapur under Ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ),

1. See above, 13.

2. Siyāq., f.8b.

Abū-Ḥafṣ ad-Dīnawarī, Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj and others. He acquired the reputation of being a reliable traditionist and taught traditions in Gurgān until 1033, when he went to Nishapur. He died shortly after coming to Nishapur in 1050.<sup>1</sup>

Q.45                      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ustuwā'ī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was born in 987, a native of Nishapur from the district of Ustuwā. He was the eldest son of the Ḥanafite leader Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ). It is known that about the year 993 he read and studied the Qur'ānic compilation of the Nāsikh wa 'l-mansūkh which had been written by Muḥammad ibn-Muhājir. In Nishapur he studied traditions under al-Mukhalladī and others, and in Iraq he studied under Abū-Aḥmad-al-Qāḍī. In 1040 he began dictating traditions in Nishapur which earned him sufficient reputation to enable him to be appointed as qāḍī al-quḍāt to the two cities of Rayy, Ṭūs and Nasā. In 1051, he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Fārs but he died on his way there.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.27a.

2. Ibid., f.39b.

## Q.46 Shāh-al-Mu'ammal

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Mu'ammal and his kunya was Abū-Bakr, but he was better known as Shāh-al-Mu'ammal. He studied the science of tradition under his father, al-Ḥasan and later under Abū-Sa'd ar-Rāzī and Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim (II. I. 43). During the Turkmen riot in 1036 in Nishapur, he left that city and came to Baghdad. In 1053, he returned to Nishapur and taught there for a few months before dying later in 1053. He acquired a reputation of being a reliable traditionist.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.47 Ibn-Maḥmashādh

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-Maḥmashādh. His kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur and a son of the leader of the Karrāmite sect there, Abū-Bakr ( III.U.3 ). He studied traditions under his father and under some of al-Aṣamm's ( II.I.28 ) followers. His notes from the latter's teachings were seen by al-Fārisī, who commented that Abū-'Abd-Allāh must have studied the Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ ( I. A. 28 ), al-Khaṭṭābī's Gharīb ( II. I. 44 ) and Abū-Dāwud's Sunan from Abū-'Alī ar-Rūyānī. He died in Nishapur in 1053 and was buried there in a place near Shaṭ al-Wādī (Saghāwar).

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1. Siyāq., f.9a.

He was regarded as being a reliable traditionist. His family background, being as it was that of one of the leading Karrāmīte families, appears to have had little influence upon him because he had a liberal attitude towards learning traditions from the Shāfi'ite scholars, who were, of course, the main rivals to the Karrāmītes.<sup>1</sup>

Q.48      Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Aḥmad. He received the laqab of Shaykh-al-Islām. He was the son of a preacher and was born in Nishapur in 983. At the age of 9, his father died, and he was taken care of by Abū-'t-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣulūkī ( III. S. 2 ). He entered the assemblies on jurisprudence held by the professors of Nishapur, Ibn - Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ), and Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī ( III. T. 3 ). It is said that at the age of 10, aṣ-Ṣābūnī started preaching in the city of Nishapur. In his travels to Khurasan, Syria, Iraq and Ḥijāz, he met a great number of masters and received traditions from them.<sup>2</sup>

Aṣ-Ṣābūnī then became an accomplished master and was noted for the subtlety of his teachings. During his second long

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1. Siyāq., f.29b.

2. Subk., III, 117-118; Wiftāḥ, II, 183; Ans., f.346b; Lub., II, 44; Shadh., III, 282-283; Siyāq., f.38b.

voyage he taught traditions in different countries and cities such as Nishapur, Ghazna, India, Āmul, Ṭabaristān, Thughūr, Ḥarrān, Jerusalem and Ḥijāz. He continued to give lessons for sixty years in the district of al-Ḥusayn in Nishapur. Finally, he died in the year 1057 from an unknown epidemical disease which had spread throughout Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

Aṣ-Ṣābūnī was a noted traditionist as well as a preacher, poet, mystic and jurist. But traditions seem to have been his favourite subject because he compiled many works on this study though only the book al-Mi'atayn is extant.<sup>2</sup> As a jurist, it seems that as-Subkī included him among the Shāfi'ite jurists, probably because of his discipleship under the above mentioned aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī, Ibn-Furak and Isfarā'inī whom were distinguished Shāfi'ite jurists and Ash'arite theologians.<sup>3</sup>

#### Q.49 Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī

His name was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Aḥmad. This person has no relation whatsoever with 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) the author of as-Siyāq. Abū-'l-Ḥusayn himself was a native of Fārs, but he lived in Nishapur. He was famed in that city as the transmitter of the

1. Siyāq., ff. 38b-39b; Subk., III, 119.

2. G A L , I, 446; G A L S , I, 618; Tha'alībī gives some verses from his poems, Tatimmat al-yatīma, II, 115.

3. Shadh., III, 283; Subk., III, 118.

ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and the Gharīb of al-Khaṭṭābī ( II. I. 44 ). He died in 1056-7.<sup>1</sup>

Q.50 Abū-Muḥammad al-Ḥadhdhā'

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. Born in Nishapur in 972. He was the son of the traditionist Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad (III. Q. 25). With his father, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 993 and on his return journey he learned traditions from the masters of Baghdad and Rayy. He acquired the reputation of being a reliable traditionist and he taught traditions not merely in Khurasan but in Iraq and Jibāl. His son extracted many sound traditions from his teaching and many other scholars delivered traditions on his authority, such as qāḍī al-quḍāt Abū-Sa'īd Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad and Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Ubayd-Allāh al-Ḥuskānī ( III.Q.71 ). He died in Nishapur in 1058.<sup>2</sup>

Q.51 Abū-'l-Ma'ālī an-Naqīb

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 999 a native of Nishapur. He himself claimed that

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1. Shadh., III, 277-8; Siyāq., f.106b.

2. Ibid., ff.81a-b.



he was a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī. During his youth he learned traditions from his paternal grandfather, Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad, and later from the disciples of al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28) and others, while travelling in Iraq and Mecca. He dictated sound traditions which had been delivered by other masters in Ghazna. He died in 1057. He was a reliable traditionist, and reached the position of nagīb of the 'Alīds in the whole of Khurasan, after the death of his brother.<sup>1</sup>

Q.52      Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of the province of Fārs and was the maternal uncle of 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī's ( IV. Y. 8 ) paternal aunt. He later resided in Khān al-Furs, which is a place in Nishapur. He became a merchant by profession and because of his interest in the science of traditions, he had studied under Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II.I.43 ) in Nishapur. He became a minaret caller in the mosque which was situated in the Khān al-Furs. Al-Fārisī cited some compilations of traditions, such as those of Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and the Gharīb of al-Khaṭṭābī ( II. I. 44 ). He died at the age of 95 in 1057.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.40a.

2. Ibid., f.9a.

## Q.53      Abū-Sa'īd al-Khashshāb

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in Nishapur in 991. He became the disciple and follower of Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ), from whom he inherited his books. He continued his studies of traditions under al-Mukhalladī and Abū-Ṭāhir ibn-Zur'a. He was known as a traditionist. He taught in Nishapur for some time and the texts of his teachings were the works of as-Sulamī which were mainly on mysticism. He died in 1063.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.54      Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī ibn-Mūsā al-Khusrajirdī. He was a native of Bayhaq, born in 994, in a village called Khusrajird. He became a disciple of al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), whom he soon surpassed in all different parts of knowledge. He studied jurisprudence from Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umarī ( III. S. 11). He also devoted his life to learning traditions. Mention has been made by al-Fārisī of a great number of his masters in Khurasan who heard traditions from him; among them were Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Alawī (d.1010), his teacher al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī, Abū-Ṣāliḥ ibn-ar-Rūdhbarī and others.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.13b.

2. Ibid., ff.31a-b; T K M , 265f; Subk., III, 3f; Lub, I, 165; Ans., ff. 101a-b; Tadh, III, 309; I Kh, I, 24-25.

He travelled in pursuit of traditions to Iraq, Jibāl, Hijāz and Khurasan. He stood alone in Bayhaq without a rival as a great traditionist and as the most active defender of the Shāfi'ite doctrine. In the year 1049, he was invited to Nishapur in order to propagate the knowledge of that doctrine. He held his lectures in the Sūrī madrasa on the gate of 'Adhra. These lectures were attended by leading scholars of that city. He died in 1066 in Nishapur, and his body was removed to his native place Bayhaq.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bayhaqī was an author. He composed a great number of works which are said to have been reached 1000 articles. His great work is as-Sunan al-kubrā which has survived and has been held in high esteem. Another work which was famous is his Nuṣūṣ ash-Shāfi'ī. It is said that he was the first to collect ash-Shāfi'ī legal precepts. But as-Subkī remarks that earlier works were written before him on the same subject.<sup>2</sup>

#### Q.55 Abū-Sahl al-Marwazī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh. He was a native of Marw. He read the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) under the master of Marw, Abū-'l-Haytham

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1. T K M , 266-7; Tadh., III, 310; Subk., III 4-5; Siyāq., f.31b; I Kh., I, 5; I Fun., 183-184
  2. Subk., III, Loc.cit; Shadh., III, 305; T K M. Loc.cit; Robson, E I<sup>2</sup> , "al-Bayhaqī"; G A L , I, 446-447; G A L S , I, 618 - 619.

al-Kushmīhanī. He was renowned as a traditionist by the scholars of Marw and this attracted the Seljūq Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, who made him wealthy by his patronage. He came to Nishapur where he taught the text of al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, as well as giving private lessons to the sons of the notables and scholars there. He died in 1072.<sup>1</sup>

Q.56      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Muẓaffar. He was born in 983, a native of Būshanj. In 1009, he travelled to the various cities of Khurasan and Iraq with the intention of learning and studying under the most famous masters in each city. In Nishapur, he became the disciple of the young master Abū-'Alī al-Fanjukirdī ( IV. EE. 2 ), under whom he learned literature, and he also took lessons in jurisprudence with Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ) and others. He also studied jurisprudence in Marw under Abū-Bakr al-Qaffāl and in Baghdad under Abū-Ḥamid al-Isfarā'inī. One of his studies in Nishapur was mysticism and during his stay there he became acquainted with Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ) and Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ). In his other travels throughout Khurasan and Iraq he learned the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-

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1. Siyāq., f.15b.

Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), which had been transmitted by reliable scholars. During his visit to Nishapur, he attracted many students from other parts of the Islamic world who came to attend his lectures in which the main topic was the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī. However, in 1014, he left Nishapur to return to Būshanj, where he spent the rest of his life in writing, teaching and giving fatwās. He died in 1074. Abū-'l-Ḥasan was a profound scholar and had mastered such diverse aspects of Islamic learning as traditions, jurisprudence, mysticism, literature and poetry. He was mainly renowned for his knowledge of traditions and the accuracy of his transmissions was such that he was not only called the Shaykh of the city of Būshanj but Shaykh of entire Khurasan.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.57 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Muzakkī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥīm ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Khaffāf, Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Salīṭī and Abū-Zakariyyā al-Ḥarbī. He also read the Sunan of Abū-Dāwūd under both Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Samarqandī and Abū-'Alī al-Ḥusayn ar-Rūdhbārī. He was known as a reliable traditionist and dictated some traditions in the Ancient Mosque in Nishapur. He died in 1076.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq, f.90b; Shadh., III, 327.

2. Siyāq., f.31a.

## Q.58      Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Manī'i

His name was Maḥmūd ibn-Ḥassān ibn-Sa'id. He was a native of Marw-ar-Rūdh and the son of the famous donor Abū-'Alī ( III. S. 15 ). Abū-'l-Qāsim learned traditions from his father and from other masters of his birth place. He also heard in Nishapur Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zayd al-Baghdādī.

During the reign of the Seljūq sultan Alp-Arslān, he was appointed as ra'īs ar-ru'asā' of the city of Nishapur. During his occupation of that position that city was, comparatively, very peaceful. Abū-'l-Qāsim died in his birthplace of Marw-ar-Rūdh in the year 1078.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.59      Abū-Bakr al-Muzakkī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥyā ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad. He heard traditions in Nishapur from al-Ḥakīm Abū-'Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ) and az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ). He dictated traditions in Baghdad and numerous students were known to have attended his dictations, since al-Fārisī remarks that more than 500 inkwells were once found there. He died in his birthplace Nishapur and was buried in the backyard of aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī's madrasa, in 1081.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.132b.

2. Ibid., f.14b.

## Q.60      Abū-Sa'd ibn-Rāmish

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Rāmish. He was born in 1013, the eldest son of the deputy ra'īs of Nishapur, Manṣūr ( III. Q. 29 ). During his youth he learned traditions from al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sarrāj ( III.Q.17 ) and from many others. He also met the scholar Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ), from whom he also learned traditions. He made a journey to Baghdad to read some of the works of the distinguished traditionist scholar Dāraqutnī under some of the masters of that city and on his return to Nishapur he acquired a favourable reputation as a traditionist and a mystic. He acted as deputy ra'īs when his father was unable to fulfil his duties and on the death of his father, in 1036, he began teaching traditions in Nishapur and later opened a course of lectures in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, teaching the Sunan of an-Nasā'ī, the Gharīb of Abū-'Ubayd and other such works. He died in 1081.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.61      Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jurjānī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Mis'ida ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in 1015 in Gurgān. He learned traditions from Ḥamza al-Sahmī and others. It is known that he visited

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1. Siyāq., f.91a; Ans., f. 244a; Lub., 452.

Nishapur several times and that on his last visit there he taught traditions in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. One of the students who were taught by him at that time was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ). He returned to his native city of Gurgān and died there in 1084. He was regarded as a reliable traditionist and a competent poet and man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

Q.62 Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-al-Mālīk ibn-'Alī. He was born in Nishapur in 998. He heard traditions from the Nishapurians Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. Q. 2 ), al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ), and from the followers of al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). He also heard traditions in Gurgān, Rayy, Iraq, Ḥijāz and Syria. In Nishapur, he was associated with the mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and it is said that he met Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ). It is also mentioned that he made acquaintance with the Ash'arite theologian Ibn-Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ).

Al-Mu'adhdhin became renowned as a reliable traditionist as well as a mystic. In Nishapur he was appointed as a professor and a director of al-Bayhaqiyya madrasa apart from the other duties we have already mentioned.

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1. Siyāq., f.41b,



Al-Mu'adhdhin was noted as a professor of high reputation. He gave private lessons to many students in Nishapur, such as 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) and 'Abd-al-Qādir Ismā'īl. Both students profited from his lessons in their writings. Al-Mu'adhdhin died in Nishapur in 1084.<sup>1</sup>

Q.63      Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ash-Shaḥḥāmī

His name was Ṭāhir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in Nishapur in 1009 and his nisba of ash-Shaḥḥāmī probably derives from his trading with 'fat'. He learned traditions from al-Asamm's (II. I. 28) followers such as aṣ-Ṣayrafī, al-Qaḍī and 'Abū-'Alī as-Sijzī. He copied traditions at the dictations held by some of the most eminent traditionists in Nishapur, including the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk. He was a reliable traditionist and had a great knowledge of the literature of jurisprudence. He wrote two books which are mentioned by al-Fārisī: the first was ash-Sharī'a wa 'l-aḥkām which was written in Persian, and the other was on shurūṭ. He died in 1086.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., I, 219-21; Tadh., III, 335-337; Siyāq., ff. 31b-32b; according to Ibn-'Imād, al-Mu'dhdhin died in 1077, Shadh., III, 335; see above, 279-280.

2. Siyāq., f.77b; Shadh., III, 363; see "ash-Shaḥḥām", Lub., II, 13; Ans., f.330b.

## Q.64                      Abū-'l-Qasam as-Sāwī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Mūsā ibn-Sa'id. He was a native of Sāwa which is a city situated between Rayy and Hamadān. He studied traditions at first in Nishapur under Ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 29 ), Abū-Bakr Aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( III.Q.19) and others, then in Baghdad, under Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl and others, and finally in some of the cities of Khurasan and Transoxiana. He returned to Nishapur for the second time in 1084 and there dictated traditions for about two years in the class of Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( III. Q. 63 ). He died in 1087. He was regarded as a reliable traditionist and was esteemed as a man of letters and as a philologist.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.65                      Abū-Muḥammad al-Baḥīrī

His name was 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur. He started his studies by learning the science of tradition under Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥākim ( III. Q. 3 ) and was one of those who studied the Musnad of Abū-'Awāna ( II. I. 16 ) under Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. Q. 2 ). He became noted as a trustworthy traditionist. He taught traditions in Nishapur and

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1. Siyāq., f.42a, see "as-Sāwī", Lub., I, 525; Ans., f.287b; and "Sāwa", M B, III, 513.

delivered some of the works of his master Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Ḥākim. It is reported that ‘Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) and some others read al-Ḥākim's work Ma‘rifat ‘ulum al-ḥadīth under him. Abū-Muḥammad died in 1087.<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.66 Abū-‘l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabsī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Tabs, a city which lay between Nishapur and Iṣpahan. He visited Nishapur where he learned traditions from al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ), Abū-Ṭāhir az-Zujjājī and from some of al-Aṣamm's ( II. I. 28 ) acquaintances. He himself later dictated traditions in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. He returned to his native city of Tabs and died there in 1089. Aṭ-Ṭabsī was a reliable traditionist as well as being both pious and inclined towards mysticism. He wrote many learned works, one of which is mentioned by al-Fārisī as being entitled Bustān al-‘arīfīn which however is no longer extant.<sup>2</sup>

#### Q.67 Samkuwayhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Iṣpahan and was born in 1017.

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1. Siyāq., f.100b.

2. Ibid., ff.14b-15a; Shadh., III, 367.

During his travels to most of the cities in Khurasan and Transoxiana, he learned traditions. In Nishapur, it is known that he learned traditions from al-Janzarūdhi, Ibn-Manṣūr and others. He died there in 1089 and was buried in ash-Shāhanbar graveyard. He was a reliable traditionist and wrote several books on the science of traditions but none of these are mentioned by name by his biographers.<sup>1</sup>

Q.68 Khadīja bint-Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī

She was born in 1013 in Nishapur, the daughter of the famous scholar Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī (III. Q. 48 ). She heard traditions at the age of eight from Abū-Naṣr 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-Qutāda and later from some of the followers of al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28). Khadīja was regarded as a very devoted and reliable traditionist. She died in 1095.<sup>2</sup>

Q.69 Abū-'l-Ḥasan ash-Shujā'ī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur and belonged to a wealthy family. He was born in 1019. He learned traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī ( II. S. 6 ). Being a trustworthy

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1. Siyāq., f.18a; Shadh., III, 367.

2. Siyāq., f.64a; Tadh., IV, 12.

religious man, he was appointed as secretary in the office of awqāf in Nishapur, then he was appointed as secretary in the tribunal council in that city. He died in Nishapur in 1097.

Abū-'l-Ḥasan was a traditionist with a strict belief in Ash'arism and for many years he dictated traditions in his city of Nishapur. Among those who learned traditions from him was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### Q.70      Abū-Bakr as-Sarrāj

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Sahl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur and was born in 1017. He was one of the disciples of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He studied under his master Shāfi'ite jurisprudence and the interpretation of the Qur'ān. He also widened his knowledge by learning traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī ( III. S. 6 ), Muḥammad ibn-'Alī aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( III. Q. 19 ) and others. In the last period of his life he dictated traditions in Nishapur and also composed a work on that subject, entitled al-Arba'in. He died in the year 1097 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥira.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.13b; Subk., III, 32.

2. Ibid., III, 7; Siyāq., f.34b.

## Q.71 Al-Ḥuskānī

His name was 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-'l-Qāsim. As a native of Nishapur he heard traditions in this city from Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ), al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ). Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) and Ibn-Bākuwayhi ( III.V.3 ). Also in Nishapur he studied Arabic literature under Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Ḥārith al-Iṣbahānī, and studied jurisprudence under Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ). Then he became a distinguished traditionist in Nishapur; he taught traditions in this city and among his students was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV. Y. 8 ). He died in 1097.<sup>1</sup>

## Q.72 Abū-Muḥammad as-Samarqandī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Ḥamad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in Samarqand in 409 and although he studied traditions there and also in Bukhārā and Nishapur, his main education was conducted by Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mustaghfirī. Some time before the year 1018, it is reported that he came to Nishapur and learned traditions under Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Kanjarūdhnī, Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ), aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ), and others. He returned to his native city

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1. Tadh., III, 367-8; Jaw., I, 338; Siyāq., f.86b.

of Samarqand but later decided to take up permanent residence in Nishapur, where he established his reputation as a reliable traditionist after teaching and dictating traditions there for several years. He died in 1098 and was buried in al-Ḥusayn's graveyard.<sup>1</sup>

Q.73 Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-'Alawī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Zayd. His father was a native of Baghdad but he himself was born in Samarqand. He was a wealthy man, being both a landowner and a merchant. His interest in traditions was so great that he collected them and possessed many books on the subject. He came to Nishapur as a messenger from the officials of Samarqand and when he was there he stayed in al-Mushshuṭiyya madrasa where he dictated some traditions and read some poetry. On his return to Samarqand, he taught traditions on the authority of Abū-'Alī ibn-Shādhān and Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī. He died in the last decade of the eleventh century, in 1098.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Tadh., IV, 27; Siyāq., f.55a.

2. Tadh., IV, 9-11; Siyāq., f.15a; his kunya was either Abū-'l-Ma'ālī or Abū-'l-Ḥasan.

THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN

THE ḤANAFITES: QĀDĪ ŠĀ'ID, ABŪ-'l-HAYTHAM, AŞ-ŞANDALĪ AND AN-NĀṢIḤĪ. THE SHĀFI'ITES AND THE ASH'ARITES: ABŪ-'l-MUẒAFFAR AS-SAM'ĀNĪ, ABŪ-'t-ṬAYYIB AŞ-ŞU'LŪKĪ, ABŪ-MUḤAMMAD AL-JUWAYNĪ AND HIS SON ABŪ-'l-MA'ĀLĪ (IMĀN-AL-ḤARAMAYN), IBN-FŪRAK, AL-ISFARĀ'INĪ AND AL-BAGHDĀDĪ. THE KARRĀMITES: ABŪ-BAKR MUḤAMMAD AND THE FOUNDER OF THE HAYḌAMITE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY, IBN-AL-HAYḌAM.

We have mentioned earlier in this chapter the part which the leading Ḥanafite families, the Mīkalīs, Tabbānīs and Šā'idīs, played in the administration of Khurasan and in particular of Nishapur under the Ghaznavids. In the fields of scholarship and literature, however, the members of those families appear to have played a less prominent role than they did as legal and civic officials or as diplomats, though it was often the case that they gained their first official appointment partly as a result of their own or their families' distinction as scholars.<sup>1</sup> For example Qāḍī Šā'id (III.R.6) had studied literature under the famous poet, Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī (II.P.5), jurisprudence under Abū-Sahl al-Qāḍī<sup>2</sup> and Abū-'l-Haytham 'Utba (II.R.2), and traditions under many shaykhs, and was therefore a noted scholar before the Sultan Maḥmūd appointed him to be tutor to his two young sons.<sup>3</sup> When the Sultan realised that his appointment of the Karrāmīte leader, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad (III.U.3), to be ra'īs of Nishapur, in an attempt to further his policy of suppressing Sunnite sects, was causing dissension among the other Sunnite sects, and when his appointee started to turn

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1. See above, 258-270.

2. He was the maternal grandfather of Šā'id; Jaw., I, 262.

3. Bayhaqī, Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdī, 198; Jaw., I, 261-62;

Siyaq., f.74b; see below, (List No.I.A), 608.



against certain Sunnite scholars, it was the scholar Ṣā'id, as leader of the Ḥanafite sect, whom he used to bring about the dismissal of Abū-Bakr Muḥammad. The circumstances of the struggle between the two leaders of these Sunnite sects have already been narrated.<sup>1</sup>

Ṣā'id himself was dismissed from his office as qāḍī by the Seljūqs partly because of his age but mainly because he had shown a distinctly reserved attitude towards his new rulers on their first occupation of Nishapur in 1038, saying that he was too old and too much concerned with his own studies to give them the benefit of his political experience.<sup>2</sup> The person with whom the Seljūqs replaced him by was his old teacher, Abū-'l-Haytham 'Utba, the then teacher of the Ḥanafites, who was himself a distinguished jurist, having studied under Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn, ( II. J. 11 ). He became noted as both qāḍī and teacher and Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' acknowledges him as a skilful teacher of the candidates for the office of qāḍī.<sup>3</sup>

Two distinguished Ḥanafite scholars who witnessed the rise of the Seljūqs to power in Khurasan deserve to be mentioned. One was Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣandalī (III.R.14 ), who had established his reputation as a theologian by heading the Ḥanafite representation in the disputations with the Shāfi'ites who were led by Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) and his son the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). Aṣ-Ṣandalī's reputation was such that the Ḥanafites honoured him by building a madrasa

1. See below, (List Nos. 2,3), 626, 632; see above, 261-262.

2. Ans., f.31a; Lub., I, 41; Jaw., I, 262.

3. Jaw., I, 242-3; Siyāq., f.118a.

in Nishapur for his use called after his own name, the Ṣandaliyya madrasa.

When the Seljūqs had occupied Nishapur, he was highly favoured by the Sultan Ṭughril-Beg who was himself a keen Ḥanafite and when the latter invaded Baghdad in 1055 he took aṣ-Ṣandalī with him as his advisor. Aṣ-Ṣandalī however preferred to live and study in private and so he retired from his public activities and took a vow of piety.<sup>1</sup>

The other distinguished Ḥanafite scholar was Abū-Bakr an-Nāṣiḥī ( III. R. 13 ), the chief of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur. He was recognised as an authority in various of the Islamic religious sciences but he was primarily regarded as a theologian and dialectician. Like aṣ-Ṣandalī, his reputation was such that he was appointed a qāḍī as well as a professor in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> Although Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' alleges that both aṣ-Ṣandalī and an-Nāṣiḥī had tendencies towards Mu'tazilism, his testimony is doubtful on two grounds: firstly, it seems that he included most of the Ḥanafite theologians in the category of the Mu'tazilites since he took the science of kalām theology as the basis of his categorisation, and, secondly, since the second half of the ninth century Mu'tazilism had lost whatever influence it had as a school of thought in Khurasan, and from that time there is no record of any discussions having been held on its doctrine.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 357-9, see below, (List No.2), 628.

2. Jaw., II, 64; see below, (List No.3), 633.

3. Some Mu'tazilite dogmas were discussed in Nishapur in the class of the famous Shāfi'ite jurist Ibn-Khuzayma ( II.K.4 ). These teachers were strongly opposed by the whole body of the Shāfi'ite sect; see above, 180.

The eleventh century was marked by the growing interest which a large number of scholars displayed in the juridical doctrines of Shāfi'ism, and important contributions in the field of scholarship and literature were made by adherents to this school. There were also converts to Shāfi'ism among members of other Sunnite sects, the most famous of which was the conversion of Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī ( III. S. 25 ). Abū-'l-Muẓaffar's family, the Sam'ānīs were distinguished Ḥanafite followers in Marw and he himself was a noted jurist and commentator on the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup> His conversion to Shāfi'ism split his family, the Sam'ānīs, and thereafter his descendants remained Shāfi'ites while those of his brother, Abū-'l-Qāsim, remained Ḥanafites. It also almost provoked rioting in Marw itself and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar had to find refuge in Nishapur. There he was a highly respected member of the Shāfi'ite community and was duly honoured by the Seljūq Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk.<sup>2</sup> Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' refers to Abū-'l-Muẓaffar's conversion in the discussions which took place between the Ḥanafites and the Shāfi'ites which indicates how serious an effect it had on the Ḥanafite movement, but this incident is repudiated by the Ḥanafites. It is also worthy of note that Abū-'l-Muẓaffar's grandson, Abū-Sa'd ( IV. Y. 17 ) became well-known as a Shāfi'ite scholar and compiler of the book al-Ansāb.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 21; Shadh., III, 393; Siyāq., f.130b.

2. Ibid., f. loc.cit., Subk., IV, 21-5.

3. Jaw., I, 358; Subk., IV, 259.

The Shāfi'ite movement was represented in Nishapur by the prominent families of Ṣu'lūkī, Juwaynīs, Qushayrīs and many others, amongst whom the Ṣu'lūkīs were the most influential. Already by the Sāmānid period, the Ṣu'lūkīs, under the leadership of Abū-Sahl ( II. L. 1 ), were well-known for their devotion to scholarship and piety, and Abū-Sahl himself was greatly respected by the Vizier al-Bal'amī and often invited to his court.<sup>1</sup> These favours continued during the Ghaznavid rule and Abū-Sahl's son, Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī (III. S. 2 ), was renowned throughout Khurasan as a master of jurisprudence and teacher of Ash'arism. Students came to learn from him in Nishapur from all over Khurasan and many of them in turn became famous muftīs, qādīs and teachers. Among the students who studied jurisprudence under him was Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ), the father of the Abū-'l-Ma'ālī Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ).<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī was famed primarily as a Shāfi'ite jurist but also for his knowledge of literature and his ability as a commentator. It is also reported that there was no-one to equal him in his skill in conducting assemblies. His reputation was so great that Abū-Sa'īd al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 1 ) said of him that "if God had permitted to send another prophet during Abū-Muḥammad's lifetime, it would have been none other than he himself due to his excellent path, piety and perfect virtue".<sup>3</sup>

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1. T K II , 183.

2. Ibid., 211; Subk., III, 169; Shadh., 172; see below, (List No. I.B), 614.

3. Abū-Sa'īd al-Qushayrī quoted by as-Subkī and Ibn-'Asākir; Subk., III, 208; T K M , 258.

In spite of his reputation, his judicial work, al-Muḥiṭ, was subject to a certain amount of criticism because it mentioned some legal principles and precepts which were contrary to the Shāfi'ite doctrines. The method of al-Muḥiṭ was particularly criticised by Abū-Bakr al-Bahyaqī ( III. Q. 54 ) who pointed out many of its defects and as a result Abū-Muḥammad did not continue with the writing of the work which had already taken up three volumes.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Muḥammad taught his son Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (III. T. 9 ) jurisprudence and on his father's death al-Juwaynī took over the chair of professor of jurisprudence. However, the study of jurisprudence did not completely satisfy him, though he became a noted professor of that subject, and he started to attend the lectures of al-Iskāfī ( III. T. 7 ) on dogmatics and theology which were given in the madrasa of al-Bayhaqī.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted in this context that Shāfi'ism throughout the eleventh century was associated with Ash'arism and that the most distinguished Shāfi'ites were also Ash'arites in theology. Ash'arism had developed as a school of theology in the first half of the eleventh century under the theologians Ibn-Furak ( III. T. 1 ), al-Baghdādī ( III. T. 5 ) and al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. T. 3 ). When Ṭughril's Vizier, al-Kundurī started his persecution of the Ash'arites in Nishapur, and an order for the arrest of al-Juwaynī was issued, al-Juwaynī

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1. Subk., III, 209-210.

2. I Kh., I, 361; TKM, 279; Subk., 252.

escaped to Baghdad in 1056 and thence to Ḥijāz, where he stayed for four years acting as a professor and muftī, partly in Mecca and partly in Medina. It was from this that he became known as Imām-al-Ḥaramayn, 'the Imām of the two sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina'.<sup>1</sup> On the death of Ṭughril-Beg and the succession of Alp-Arslan to the Seljūq throne, Niẓām-al-Mulk was appointed Vizier and invited all those who had been exiled to return to Nishapur. Al-Juwaynī was among those who accepted his invitation and on his return he was appointed head of the Niẓāmiyya madrasa which Niẓām-al-Mulk had built for him in Nishapur. He remained as such and also as head of the Shāfi'ites until his death in 1085.<sup>2</sup> He was renowned not only for his jurisprudence and his theological studies but also for his knowledge of philosophy which some historians consider he taught to his pupil, al-Ghazālī (IV. CC. 1 ), but on which subject none of his writings have survived.<sup>3</sup>

Of the most distinguished men who were professors in Nishapur and who were Ash'arite in theology, certain deserve to be mentioned. Among them was the famous theologian Ibn-Fūrak ( IV. T. 1 ) who stood out bravely as an opponent to the Karrāmites in Khurasan. The people of Nishapur built for him a

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1. Subk., II, 270-71; I Kh., loc.cit., Cf. Watt, Islamic Philosophy, I, III. According to Ibn-Khallikān al-Juwaynī's friend al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) visited Baghdad in 1056-7.

I Kh., I, 377.

2. see below, (List No.2), 627.

3. Watt, Islamic Philosophy, I, 112; Brockelmann (L. Gardet), E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Djuwaynī".

madrasa where he taught theology.<sup>1</sup> A contemporary of his, Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. T. 3 ) acquired a reputation throughout Iraq as a theologian and when he came to Nishapur even the distinguished scholars of that city attended his lectures in theology. On the death of the master of traditionist and jurist scholars, Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ), in 1019, al-Isfarā'īnī replaced him as the teacher of his classes at the mosque of 'Aqīl, and later the citizens of Nishapur, to honour his fame as a professor, built for him his own madrasa which was described as the best building in the city.<sup>2</sup> Born in Baghdad, Abū-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī ( III. T. 5 ) lived most of his life in Nishapur and became noted as an Ash'arite intellectual and writer. Watt considers that in his book al-Farq bayna al-firaq, he gives the best known account of the history of the early sects and points out the errors of each. He also wrote a compendium on Ash'arite theology which gives a lucid exposition of the main points of that doctrine and its main differences from the doctrines of other sects.<sup>3</sup>

Other distinguished scholars in Nishapur who were alleged to be Shāfi'ites and Ash'arites should be mentioned; among the mystics were the names of al-Qushayrī ( III.V.8), ad-Daqqāq, ( III. V.1), as-Sulamī ( III.V.2) and Abū-Sa'īd ( III.V.4) and among

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1. I Kh., II, 610.

2. Ibid., I, 4; Siyāq., ff.35b-36a.

3. Watt, Islamic Philosophy, I, 110.

the traditionist scholars were the names of al-Ḥākim an-Nasābūrī (III.Q.3), Abū-Bakr Bayhaqī (III.Q. 54) and others.

We have already mentioned the political importance of the Karrāmites during the reign of the Ghaznavid Sultan Maḥmūd, when Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ) was appointed ra'īs of Nishapur and that sect's eclipse as a political force when Abū-Bakr incurred the Sultan's displeasure. Not much is known, however, of the Karrāmites' doctrines since none of their literature has survived to this day. They may, however, be considered as a 'conservative Sunnite sect', and some followers, particularly in the first half of the eleventh century, appear to have been even radical or extreme conservative sect. We have already mentioned that their opponents allege that they held the doctrine of antropomorphism and it may be remembered that this was one of the charges that Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ) brought ~~against~~ Abū-Bakr at the court of enquiry at Ghazna. None of these allegations and charges were proved however and the court decided the issue between the two leaders on a different point.<sup>1</sup> It may be that the allegations were first made as debating points in the theological discussions which took place between other Sunnite sects and the Karrāmites. Some of the followers of the Karrāmites, and in particular those who followed the doctrines of Ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.8), were recognized as being more moderate. Ibn-al-Hayḍam is considered by adh-

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1. see above, 73-74, 260-262.



Dhahabī<sup>1</sup> to be the main theologian of the Karrāmites and it may be that in general the Karrāmites were more moderate than has hitherto been thought, but there appears to be some dispute about Ibn-al-Hayḍam's allegiance to that sect since the Shāfi'ite writer, al-Bākhārī,<sup>2</sup> who greatly admired the thought of Ibn-al-Hayḍam, denies that he was ever associated with the sect. Certainly, though, in the second half of the eleventh century, the Karrāmites reappeared as a minor theological school in Nishapur under the name of the Hayḍamiyya.<sup>3</sup> The scholars who followed this school were descendants of Ibn-al-Hayḍam and though nothing is known about their doctrines, these were a minor, a revised kind of Karrāmism.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Mizān., IV, 21-22.

2. Al-Bākhārī, Dumyat al-qasr., 166.

3. Jaw., I, 357.

4. See the Karrāmites; Muḥammad ibn-Mu'ādh ( III. U. 2 ), 'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-Muḥammad ( III. U. 4 ) and Abū-Bakr ibn-Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ), see below, (List No.I.C), 619.

R. S. T. U.  
THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN (1000-1100)

R  
THE HANAFITES

R.1 Abū-'Alī as-Samarqandī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Dāwūd ibn-Raḥmān. He was a native of Samarqand but he studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under the tuition of the Ḥanafite jurist Abū-Sahl az-Zujjājī ( II. J. 8 ). He then went to Iraq and dwelt in the city of Kūfa where he established his fame as a dialectician with particular skill in speculative discussion. He returned to Nishapur where he built a madrasa and taught jurisprudence for some time. He also gave fatwās in this city. He died in 1005.<sup>1</sup>

R.2 Abū-'l-Haytham

His name was 'Utba ibn-Khuthayma ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥātim ibn-Khuthayma. He was a native of Nishapur. He studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence in Nishapur under the tuition of the professor Abū-'l-Ḥusayn Qaḍī-al-Ḥaramayn ( II. J. 11 ). He also learned traditions during his visit to Ḥijāz from ad-Dubaylī and in Iraq from Abū-Bakr al-Qaḍī. From 1001-14, he filled the office of qaḍī in Nishapur. He died a year after his retirement in 1015. Abū-'l-Haytham was one of the great masters of the Ḥanafite school not only in

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1. Jaw., I, 192-3; Siyāq., f.52b.

Nishapur but in the whole of the province of Khurasan. He was celebrated for his ability in teaching and giving fatwās and many pupils finished their education under him and became themselves able and distinguished jurists. Among these was Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ).<sup>1</sup>

### R.3 Abū-Sa'id al-Jurjānī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Gurgān but he inhabited Nishapur. He heard traditions in the latter city from Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ) and his contemporaries. He became noted as a theologian and a master of the science of controversy but he was alleged to have a tendency towards Mu'tazilism. Besides having a profound knowledge of Ḥanafite jurisprudence and dogmatic theology, he was also considered to be a man of letters but there is no record of his teachers of literature. He died in Nishapur in 1025.<sup>2</sup>

### R.4 Abū-Sahl as-Sarrāj

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ismā'il. He belonged to the Sarrājī family in Nishapur, and studied the

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1. Jaw., I, 342-3, II, 270; Siyāq., f.117b; Shadh., III, 181, Ṭāsh-Kūprē-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 74.
  2. Siyāq., f.126b; Jaw., II, 171.

science of tradition under Abū-'Amr ibn-Maṭar (II. I. 37 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bakka'ī and Abū-'l-Ḥasan Ismā'īl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl. He died in 1033. Abū-Sahl is identified by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' as a leading Ḥanafite jurist and professor with a leaning towards Mu'tazilism. But there is no material to trace with whom he studied Ḥanafism or who were his students.<sup>1</sup>

#### R.5 Abū-'Umar al-Jūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and resided in the quarter of Jūr in that city.<sup>2</sup> He learned traditions in Khurasan and Iraq from Abū-Ḥafṣ ibn-Shāhīn and Abū-Bakr ibn-'Abdān. In Nishapur, he was well acquainted with the prominent Ḥanafite family, the Ṣā'idī's. He died in 1034. Abū-'Umar was a moderate Ḥanafite, well-acquainted with the science of the principles of law. He was also held in high esteem as a transmitter of traditions.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Jaw., II, 8; Siyāq., f.8b.

2. Lub., I, 250, but Yāqūt mentions only the city of Jūr in the province of Fārs and says that a great number of scholars came from Jūr and inhabited Nishapur, M B, II, 146-9.

3. Siyāq., f.9b; Jaw., II, 141-2.

## R.6 Qādī Ṣā'id

His name was Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh. His kunya was Abū-'l-'Alā'. He was the leader of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur. Ṣā'id was born in 958 in Ustuwā. He commenced his studies during his childhood under his father. He then studied Arabic literature under the tuition of Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ). His next teacher was his paternal grandfather, Abū-Naṣr al-Qādī, under whom he studied jurisprudence. Then he continued his studies under Abū-'l-Haytham ( III. R. 2 ), till he had surpassed him in the science of jurisprudence. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice, once in 985 and then in 1011. He occupied the office of qādī of Nishapur for some years till he was replaced in 1001 by his master Abū-'l-Haytham.

Ṣā'id was a jurist and a muftī of Nishapur. He was held in high favour by the Sultan Maḥmūd who made him tutor to the young princes Mas'ūd and Muḥammad. A madrasa in Nishapur was founded for him by the military governor of Khurasan, the prince Naṣr ibn-Sebüktigin. He died in Nishapur in 1039.

Ṣā'id is reported by Ḥajjī-Khalīfa and Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' to have composed a book on the principles of jurisprudence entitled al-I'tiqād which seems to be lost.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.74b; Jaw., 161-62; Ans., ff.31a-b; Khaṭ. IX, 344; H Kh., II, 1393; Tāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 81. Muntazam, VIII, 108; 'Utbi, at-Ta'rīkh al-Yamīnī II, 330-331; Jurbādhqānī, Tarjuma-yi ta'rīkh-i-Yamīnī, 260; cf. Bos., 175.

## R.7 Ibn-Abī-'l-Haytham.

His name was al-Haytham ibn-'Utba ibn-Khuthayma. His kunya was Abū-Sa'id. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the famous Ḥanafite jurist Ibn-al-Haytham ( III.R.2 ). Ibn-Abī-'l-Haytham studied jurisprudence under his father and he also learned traditions from Bishr al-Isfara'ini, Muḥammad ibn-'Alī Ja'far al-Bukhārī and from Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ). Traditions were delivered on his authority by al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ). Ibn-Abī-'l-Haytham was renowned as a Ḥanafite jurist as well as a reliable traditionist. He occupied in Nishapur the post of qāḍī and it is possible that he succeeded to the position of his father. His death occurred in 1039.<sup>1</sup>

## R.8 Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Ḥusaynī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Dāwūd. He was a descendant of the Caliph 'Alī. He learned traditions in his birth-place, Nishapur, and also in Iraq and Mecca. He received traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Alawī ( III. Q. 73 ) and Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ḥasanī. He also studied the system of Ḥanafite jurisprudence and taught on that subject. He died in 1056-57.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyaq., f.140b.; Jaw., II, 208.

2. Siyaq., f.28b; Jaw., I, 100.

## R.9 Yahya aṣ-Ṣā'idī

His name was Yahya ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur. Yahya was born in 1010. His paternal grandfather Ṣā'id (III.R.6) was a professor and ra'īs of the Ḥanafites at Nishapur. Yahya himself became qāḍī of the city of Rayy, then of Nishapur. He dictated traditions for many years in his native city. He died in Rayy in 1067.<sup>1</sup>

## R.10 Abū-'l-Maḥāsin an-Naysābūrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad. He was from a Shāfi'ite family but was the only member of his family to follow the Ḥanafite doctrine. He was born in 1021. He became a professor in Nishapur. Many students are believed to have profited from his lectures. He died in 1068-69.<sup>2</sup>

## R.11 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Ustuwā'ī

His name was Maṣṣūr ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur and came from the Ṣā'idī family who had been the leaders of the Ḥanafites in Nishapur for many

1. Jaw., II, 215-6; Siyāq., f.143a.

2. Ibid., f.17b; Jaw., II, 63.

generations. Abū-'l-Qāsim studied Ḥanafite jurisprudence under his father. He also learned traditions during his travels to Baghdad, Hamadān, Rayy and Transoxiana. In Nishapur, he frequently acted as deputy to his father and after the latter's death he performed his duties as qāḍī al-quḍāt. Abū-'l-Qāsim was acknowledged by the scholars of Nishapur for his great learning. He surpassed all members of his family the Ṣā'idīs in teaching, preaching, and holding assemblies for 'recollection', dhikr. He was also the only one in his family to emerge as a man of letters. It is reported by Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' that 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) studied the aṭ-Ṭaḥāwī's work al-Āthār under him and that some of the natives of Nishapur tried to hold a dictation assembly for him but his sickness prevented him presiding over that assembly. He died in 1077.<sup>1</sup>

#### R.12 Abū-Naṣr al-Ustuwā'ī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1019 into the most influential Ḥanafite family in Nishapur. His paternal grandfather ( III. R. 6 ) was the ra'īs of the Ḥanafites there. Abū-Naṣr appears to have spent his youth in learning horsemanship but during this period he must also have picked up some knowledge of traditions and the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence from members of his

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1. Siyāq., f.129b; Jaw., II, 182.



family. Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā' mentions Ṣā'id, his paternal grandfather, Muḥammad, his father and Ismā'īl, his paternal uncle, as being his masters.

He acquired his reputation as a result of the political upheavals in Khurasan. In 1038, the Seljūqs invaded Nishapur and put an end to the Ghaznavid rule in Khurasan. The Seljūq sultans were Ḥanafite sympathisers and in order to consolidate their power in Khurasan, they appointed their followers as Ḥanafite leaders to the most important administrative post, that of the ra'īs in the various cities, including Nishapur. Abū-Naṣr was appointed not simply as a ra'īs but as ra'īs ar-ru'asā', a post which had hitherto been unknown in Nishapur. He held the post from 1038 to 1049, discharging his duties entirely impartially, but then he began to discriminate against the Ash'arites and in 1063 the Sultan Alp-Arslan had to intervene to end his administration by sending him on a diplomatic mission to Transoxiana. There he remained until the Sultan Malik-Shāh came to power and began to prepare for Abū-Naṣr's return to Nishapur by creating vacancies in the ranks of the judges. Abū-Naṣr was appointed qāḍī al-quḍāt of Nishapur and remained in this post for 14 years. During this time, he dictated traditions every week on Thursday evenings in the Ancient Mosque. He died in Nishapur in 1089.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff. 33b-34a; Jaw., I, 105-6.

## R.13 Abū-Bakr an-Nāṣiḥī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions from Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Ḥarbī and Abū-Ibrāhīm ibn-Ismā‘īl an-Naṣrābādī, but his main interests were the sciences of jurisprudence and dogmatic theology, in which he became a master. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he came to Baghdad in 1090 where he taught traditions on the authority of ‘Abd-al-Wahhāb al-Anmāṭī and Abū-Bakr az-Zaghūlī. Besides being a professor, he filled the office of qāḍī in Nishapur. Then he was appointed qāḍī in Rayy. But he died on his way to Rayy and was buried in Iṣpahān in the year 1091.

An-Nāṣiḥī was the chief of the Ḥanafites at his time. His reputation was immense not only as a jurist but as a theologian dialectician, a man of letters and a poet. It is reported also that he had some leaning towards the Mu‘tazilite doctrine.<sup>1</sup>

## R.14 Abū-‘l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣandālī

His name was ‘Alī-ibn-al-Ḥasan, He was a native of Nishapur. He commenced his studies under al-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣa‘bī. His fame soon became so great that the Ḥanafites built for him a madrasa called aṣ-Ṣandaliyya which was named after him. He was also favoured by the Sultan Tughril-Beg, who, when he

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1. Jaw., II, 64; Shadh., III, 372; Tāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā’, 80.

invaded Baghdad took aṣ-Ṣandalī with him, but soon he returned to Nishapur where he retired from teaching and took the vow of piety. He died in 1091. Aṣ-Ṣandalī was one of the most eminent men among the Ḥanafites as a dogmatic theologian. It is said also that he had a tendency towards the Mu'tazilite doctrine. In Nishapur, he led a group of Ḥanafite theologians in the disputation assemblies with the Shāfi'ite theologians led by Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) and his son Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). In these assemblies they discussed various points of jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup>

#### R.15 Abū-Turāb an-Narīzī

His name was 'Abd-al-Bāqī ibn-Yūsuf. He was born in a village in Adharbayjān called Narīz. Hence his nisba an-Narīzī. He came to Baghdad and studied the science of jurisprudence under the Shāfi'ite master Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī ( III. S.12 ) until he mastered this subject. Having acquired fame in Iraq, he came to Nishapur and resided in this city. He professed for some years in the mosque of 'Aqīl and died in 1097. Abū-Turāb was a jurist who studied under a Shāfi'ite master. There is no indication that he studied the Ḥanafite doctrines or taught them. However, Ibn-Akī-'l-Wafā' includes him among the Ḥanafite jurists.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ṭāsh-Kūpre-Zāde, Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', 188; Jaw., I, 357-359.

2. Siyāq., f.107a; Jaw., I, 293; Lub., III, 222; Ans., f.558b.

## R.16     Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Bustaniqānī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Alī. He was a merchant from the village of Bustaniqān, but he later resided in the quarter of Naṣrābādh in Nishapur. He studied Ḥanafite jurisprudence under Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ) and it is most probable, according to al-Fārisī, that he met some of the followers of al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), but it is unlikely that he received traditions from them. He died in 1098.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 158.

THE SHĀFI'ITES

## S.1 Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥalīmī

His name was al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ḥalīm. He was a native of Bukhārā born in 949. Having made a pilgrimage to Mecca, he came to Nishapur in 987 and taught traditions in that city. Many authors wrote down his lectures. He returned to his native city and then, in 995, he visited Nishapur for the second time. During this time he held an assembly in which he dictated traditions. It is mentioned that al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ) delivered traditions on his authority. He died in the year 1012-3.<sup>1</sup> Al-Ḥalīmī was regarded in his native place of Bukhārā as one of the most learned men of his age in the science of the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence. He was also an author who wrote many works on jurisprudence. Ibn-'Imād mentions the following works of his:

1. Shu'ab al-īmān, a good work on jurisprudence consisting of 3 volumes.
2. Āyāt as-sā'a.
3. Aḥwāl al-qiṣāma.

All of his works seem to be lost.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 147; I Kh., I, 183, according to as-Sam'ānī, al-Ḥalīmī was born in Gurgān, then he inhabited Bukhārā, Ans., f.174a.
  2. Shadh., III, 167-8.

## S.2 Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī

His name was Sahl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān ibn-Mūsā ibn-'Īsā ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the famous scholar Abū-Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ). He studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence under his father and after the death of his father in 979, he emerged as a Shāfi'ite jurist and attained the rank of his father as muftī of Nishapur. He also held regularly classes in which he taught jurisprudence and his class was attended by a great number of students. For instance it was reported that 500 inkpots were placed in his class in the year 997. He died in Nishapur in the year 1013.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib was a scholar with a comprehensive knowledge of the science of jurisprudence, theology, grammar and Arabic literature. He was also an author of one work entitled al-Mudhahhab fī dhikr shuyūkh al-madhhab which no longer exists.<sup>2</sup>

## S.3 Abū-'Umar al-Biṣṭāmī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Haytahm ibn-al-Qāsim ibn-Mālik. He was a native of Biṣṭām which is a town within the district of Qūmis. Al-Biṣṭāmī removed to Iraq and studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence in Baghdad during the life of Abū-Ḥamid al-Isfarā'inī, under Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Jārūd, Sulaymān aṭ-Ṭabarānī and

1. T K M, 211-14; Subk., III, 169-71; Shadh., III, 172; Miftāh, II, 182.

2. H Kh., II, 1100, 1645.

others. Reference has been made that he also learned traditions in Ahwāz, Iṣpahan and Sijistān. In 998, he was appointed qāḍī in Nishapur in a tribunal council situated in the Rajā' mosque. He stayed the rest of his life in Nishapur and died there in the year 1016-17. Al-Biṣṭāmī is regarded by al-Fārisī as a leading Shāfi'ite in holding discussion assemblies.<sup>1</sup>

#### S.4 Abū-Ṣādiq aṣ-Ṣaydalānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He studied the science of tradition under al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), Muḥammad ibn-Ya'qūb al-Ḥāfiẓ, Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣibghī ( II. K. 7 ) and from Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). He died in 1019. Abū-Ṣādiq was a Shāfi'ite in jurisprudence and was noted also as a man of letters.<sup>2</sup>

#### S.5 Abū-Bakr an-Nūqānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Bakr ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nūqān which is a town within the district of Tūs. He studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjisi ( II. K. 16 ) and in Baghdad under Abū-Muḥammad al-Bāfi. Mention has been made that he learned traditions

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1. Subk., III, 59; Shadh., III, 187; Khaṭ., II, 247-8; Muntaẓam, VII, 285; Wāfi, III, 6; Siyāq., f.2b; cf. Lub., I, 123-124; Ans., ff.81a-b.

2. Siyāq., f.4b.

from the most distinguished scholar of Baghdad, Dāraqutnī. Reference has been made also to his having professed for some time Shāfi'ite jurisprudence in Nishapur, and, according to as-Subkī, he became the muftī and teacher of the Shāfi'ites of that city and one of the leading shaykhs who held disputation assemblies in support of Shāfi'ism. He died in his native town Nūqān in the year 1029. Abū-Bakr was a Shāfi'ite jurist who had the privilege of teaching the eminent mystic of Nishapur, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### S.6 Abū-Bakr al-Ḥīrī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Ḥafṣ ibn-Yazīd al-Qādī. He was the son-in-law of the celebrated scholar Abū-'Amr al-Ḥīrī (II. I. 40).

Abū-Bakr was a native of Nishapur from the quarter of al-Ḥīra; his birth took place in 937. He studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī ( II. K. 8 ). Mention is made by as-Subkī that he studied Ash'arism, but he does not give the names of his teachers. Abū-Bakr also learned traditions from al-Aṣamm (II.I.28) in Nishapur and from many shaykhs in the cities of Baghdad, Kūfa, Mecca and Gurgān.

Abū-Bakr was renowned as a Shāfi'ite jurist and he was one of the few Shāfi'ites who held the office of qāḍā' in Nishapur. Assemblies were presided over by him in 982 and 992. He died in Nishapur in the year 1030.<sup>2</sup>

1. Siyāq., f.3b.; Subk., III, 49. cf. M B, IV, 834; Lub., III, 244; Ans., f.571b.

2. Subk., III, 3; Siyāq., f.22b; Shadh., III, 217.



## S.7 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māwardī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Qaṣam ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur but he was surnamed al-Māwardī probably on account of his profession as a merchant or a maker of rosewater. He learnt traditions from Abū-'Amr ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan as-Sarrāj, Ibn-Ḥafṣ and others. He died in 1030. Abū-'l-Ḥasan was primarily a jurist and although the sect to which he belonged is not specified by his biographer, it is most probable that he was a Shāfi'ite since he had studied traditions under Ibn-Najīd. He was the author of a book entitled al-Miṣbāḥ wa 't-taṣābīḥ which was written on the principles of jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup>

## S.8 Abū-Bakr al-Bustī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Ubyd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Mūsā. He was a native of Bust, which is a town lying between Herat and Kābul. Mention has been made that he studied traditions in Iraq under the Baghdadian scholar Dāraqūṭnī. Finally, Abū-Bakr resided in Nishapur. As a wealthy man, he devoted some of his property to the furtherance of knowledge by building a madrasa in Nishapur. This madrasa was built in front of his house in a district of al-Musayyib. He taught in the madrasa which was attached to the Ancient Mosque in Nishapur. He died in Nishapur in the year 1037.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff. 7b-8a; for the nisba "al-Māwardī", see Lub., III, 90.
  2. Subk., III, 33; Siyāq., f.27a; for the nisba "al-Bustī", cf. Ibn-Ḥibbān (II.K.9).

## S.9 Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Muḥammad. He was the father of the celebrated scholar Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He studied general literature at Juwayn under his father Abū-Ya'qūb Yūsuf and then went to Nishapur, where he studied jurisprudence under Sahl aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( II. L. 1 ). From there, he went to Marw and put himself under the tuition of Abū-Bakr al-Qaffāl ( d. 975 ). Diligently he followed the lessons of that master and acquired under his tuition a great knowledge of the Shāfi'ite doctrine and the science of 'controversy', khilāf. Having finished his studies at Marw, he returned to Nishapur in the year 1016-17 and occupied the post of professor and muftī.

He remained for the rest of his life in Nishapur where a great number of persons benefited from his lessons, among these was his son the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn. His death took place in Nishapur in 1047.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Muḥammad was a jurist and an author. Brockelmann mentions two of his works which are still existent:

1. Al-Jam' wa'l-farq.
2. Al-Wasā'il fī furūq al-Masā'il.

A list of his works is also given by Ibn-Khallikān.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 208; Siyāq., ff.80a-b; Shadh., III, 261-2; M B, II, 164; Miftāḥ., II, 184; Muntaẓam., VIII, 130; I Kh., I, 316-17.

2. G A L S, I, 667; G A L, I, 482; I Kh., I, 316; cf. Schacht, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Djuwaynī"; His work al-Muḥiṭ, see above, 337.

## S.10 Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān an-Nīlī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was born in Nishapur in 967. He studied the science of traditions under Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) and Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Ḥīrī and he himself dictated traditions for many years in Nishapur before his death there in 1049. An-Nīlī was a Shāfi'ite jurist as well as a poet. As-Subkī remarks that he made a collection of poetry, but this seems to be lost.<sup>1</sup>

## S.11 Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umarī

His name was Nāṣir ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī. He was a native of Marw, and is believed to be a descendent of the Caliph 'Umar ibn-al-Khaṭṭāb. He studied jurisprudence in his native place under al-Qaffāl. He continued his studies in Nishapur under Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib as-Ṣu'lūkī ( III. S. 2) and Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) until he mastered the science of jurisprudence and became skilful in giving fatwas and holding discussion assemblies. He taught and dictated traditions for some time in Nishapur and among those who benefited by studying under him was Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54). He died in Nishapur in 1053. Abū-'l-Faṭḥ was a traditionist as well as Shāfi'ite jurist. He composed a work on the science of traditions entitled al-Jāmi' li-Ibn-'Irīs which seems to be lost.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 75; Siyāq., f. 6b.

2. Subk., IV, 27; Shadh., III, 272; Lub., II, 153; Siyāq., f. 136a.

## S.12 Abū-'t-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī

His name was Ṭāhir ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir; he was a native of Ṭabaristān, born at Āmul in the year 956-960. At the age of 14, he studied jurisprudence in his native city under the tuition of Abū-'Alī al-Zujjājī (d. 980) and later became the disciple of Ibn-al-Qāṣṣ. Aṭ-Ṭabarī went to Gurgān and learned the Qur'ān under Abū-Sa'īd al-Isma'īlī, and Abū-'l-Qāsim Yūsuf ibn-al-Kajj. Then he proceeded to Nishapur and for 4 years he studied jurisprudence under the tuition of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjīsī ( II. K. 16 ). From thence he went to Baghdad and continued his studies by attending the lectures of Abū-Ḥamid al-Isfarā'inī (d. 1015-1016), Abū-Muḥammad al-Bāfī (d.1007-1008), Abū-'l-Ḥasan Dāraquṭnī (d. 995) and Abū-'l-Faraj an-Nahrawānī (d. 1001).<sup>1</sup> He then remained in Baghdad and established his reputation as an authority and protector of the Shāfi'ite doctrine and was victorious in various disputations with the Ḥanafites. He also continued to give fatwās till his death and to correct the mistakes of other jurists. In 1013, he was a 'notary', shāhid, in the court of Baghdad, admitted as such by qāḍī al-quḍāt Abū-'Abd-Allāh as-Saymūrī (d. 1044-1045). Then he occupied the qaḍā' in the Bāb aṭ-Ṭāq quarter of that city, and, on the death of as-Saymūrī, he received the qaḍā' of al-Karkh quarter and became the qāḍī of the two sectors of Baghdad. He died in this office in 1058, at the age of 102.<sup>2</sup>

1. Subk., III, 176-77; Shadh., III, 284; Muntaẓam., VIII, 270.

2. Miftāḥ, II, 182; Siyāq., f.76b; Shadh., III, 285; Kāmil., IX, 360; Nawawī, Tahdhīb al-asmā' wa 'l-lughāt, I, 247; Ans., f.367a; Lub., II, 81; I Kh., I, 233-234.

Aṭ-Ṭabarī was a Shāfi'ite jurist, a commentator as well as an important muftī of his time; for instance, he was one of the jurists who were approached by the Caliph to give a fatwā in favour of the Buwayhid prince Jalāl-ad-Dwula, who wished to be decorated with the title of Malik-al-Mulūk in the khutba. Subsequently his fatwā was granted.<sup>1</sup>

Aṭ-Ṭabarī was also a writer. He wrote a number of works on religious dogmatics, on the doctrines of the Shāfi'ite sect and on the point of 'controversy', khilāf, between the sects. He was also a poet. Ibn-Khallikān considered his poetry as good as might be expected from a jurist.

The following are the two most important works of aṭ-Ṭabarī:-

1. Mukhtaṣar al-Muzanī
2. Mukhtaṣar fī mawlid ash-Shāfi'ī
3. Sharḥ furū' Abū-Bakr al-Miṣrī (d. 957).
4. al-Minhāj
5. at-Ta'liq al-Kubrā fi 'l-furū'

No.1 is extant.<sup>2</sup>

### S.13 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār

His name was Sa'īd ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far.

He was born in 981, a native of Nishapur. He studied traditions under the Shāfi'ite scholar, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjisī (II.

K. 16) and in 991 he wrote down traditions derived from him.

He became professor of jurisprudence in Nishapur and was also

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1. Kāmil, IX, 312.

2. I Kh., I, 234; Subk., III, 176, 195; H Kh., I, 424: II, 1100, 1635; Heffening, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Ṭabarī".

renowned as a mediator between the rival Sunnite sects. He died in 1061.<sup>1</sup>

#### S.14 The Imām Abū-Sa'īd an-Nāṣiḥī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far an-Nāṣiḥī. He formed his nisba an-Nāṣiḥī from the name of one of his ancestors called Nāṣiḥ. Abū-Sa'īd was a native of Nishapur, born in 1013. In his native city he was a disciple of Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ). He studied jurisprudence under him. He was for a time associated with Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). Mention has been made that he studied traditions under al-Aṣamm's followers, such as Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) and Ibn-Bākuwayhi ( III. V. 3 ). He died in his native city Nishapur in the year 1063.<sup>2</sup>

#### S.15 Abū-'Alī al-Manī'ī

His name was Ḥassān ibn-Sa'd ibn-Ḥassān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Manī'. He was the descendant of the Arabian commander and Companion Khālīd ibn-al-Walīd. His nisba al-Manī'ī was formed from the name of one of his ancestors.<sup>3</sup> Al-Manī'ī was a native of Marw-ar-Rūdh. The richness and the prodigality of his donations were well-

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1. Siyāq., f.69b.

2. Subk., III, 81; Lub., III, 207; Ans., f.551a.

3. Ibid., f.544a; Lub., III, 186.

known among the Khurasanians. He started his career as a successful merchant and then he became the ra'īs of Marw-ar-Rūdh. He built a Friday Mosque there. Then he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He came from his pilgrimage to Nishapur during the disturbance between the Ash'arites and Hanafites and when Alp-Arslan came to power al-Manī'ī asked his permission to build a Friday Mosque in Nishapur. The permission was granted by the Sultan. He lavished his money on this project and he himself supervised the building of the mosque. This mosque became the largest in the city and was named after him. Thus it was called the mosque of al-Manī'ī. He was also noted for his generous donations in times of crisis. When a disastrous famine broke out in Khurasan in the year 1068-9, he spent a large amount of his property in providing food daily for a thousand hungry persons. A year later, he returned to his native city Marw-ar-Rūdh and died in the year 1070.

Al-Manī'ī was associated with the Shāfi'ite scholars in Nishapur among whom was Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) from whom al-Manī'ī received traditions. It is reported also that Abū-'l-Muzaffar al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 11 ) and Wajīh ash-Shahhāmī ( IV. Y. 13 ) heard traditions from him.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Lub., III, 186; Ans., f. 544a; Muntaẓam, VIII, 270; Subk., III, 131-2; Shadh., III, 313-14.

## S.16 Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Qāsim ibn-‘Abdūs. He was a native of Nishapur. He came from a wealthy family and studied jurisprudence under the tuition of Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ). He also learned traditions in his native city from al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( II. Q. 3 ), Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī ( III. S. 6 ), Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) and others. Then he became under tutor in the class of his master al-Juwaynī. While he was occupying this post he went to Mecca on pilgrimage, and, on the way back to his native city, he visited Baghdad. He gave fatwās and taught traditions at Nishapur till his death in 1075.<sup>1</sup>

## S.17 Abū-Naṣr aṭ-Ṭūsī

His name was Naṣīr ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-‘Abbās. He was a native of Ṭūs but he attended the lessons of Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) in Nishapur studying jurisprudence. His next master was Abū-‘l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) whose books he copied. Abū-Naṣr became known as a Shāfi‘ite jurist as well as a man of letters. He had in his possession some notable books such as a collection of poetry composed by Abū-‘l-Ḥasan as-Sarakhsī and a copy of al-Khaṭṭābī's work Gharīb al-ḥadīth ( II. I. 44 ). The second copy was written by Abū-Ja‘far al-Baḥḥāthī ( III. X. 14 ). Abū-Naṣr died in 1075.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 81; Shadh., III, 331.; Siyāq., f.14a.

2. Ibid., f.136b.



## S.18 Az-Zubayrī

His name was Ḥammād ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-‘Abbās. It is mentioned that he was the descendant of the Companion ‘Abd-Allāh ibn-az-Zubayr. He was born in the year 1029. He came to Nishapur and studied Shāfi‘ite jurisprudence under Nāṣir al-‘Umarī ( III. S. 11 ). Then he was appointed qāḍī in Ṭabaristān and afterwards Astarābādh. He held many disputation assemblies during which he taught traditions on the authority of Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III. Q. 54) Abū-‘Abd-Allāh al-Miskī, al-Muzakkī, al-‘Umarī (III.S.11), Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) and others. It is recorded also that he visited Iṣpahān and Baghdad. But he died in Nishapur in the year 1081.<sup>1</sup>

## S.19 Ash-Shāshī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Alī ibn-Ḥamid. He was a native of Shāsh. He studied jurisprudence under Abū-‘Alī as-Sinkī until he had mastered that subject. His reputation as a lecturer on jurisprudence became so great that the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk appointed him a professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Herat. He stayed there for many years and many eminent men, such as al-Muwaffaq al-Harawī and Abū-Bakr al-Būshanjī, studied under him. Later he came to Nishapur where he taught traditions transmitted from al-Kā‘idī, al-Haytham ash-Shāshī. He died in Herat in 1082. Al-Fārisī, his biographer,  
 1. Subk., III, 164.

does not specify which school of thought he belonged to, but since he had studied under a Shāfi'ite scholar and favoured the Seljūq Vizier, it is quite probable that he too was a Shāfi'ite.<sup>1</sup>

S.20      Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-'Alī ibn-Yūsuf al-Fayrūzbādhī, his laqab was Jamāl-ad-Dīn, and he was born in Fayrūzbādh in 1003. He went in 1019 to Shīrāz where he studied jurisprudence under 'Abd-Allāh al-Bayḍāwī (d. 1033) and Ibn-Rāmīn (d. 1039). He proceeded to Baṣra where he had 'Alī al-Jazarī as a master. In 1024, he reached Baghdad where he completed his studies in the uṣūl with Abū-Ḥatīm al-Qazwīnī (d. 1048-49) and in the furū' with Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī ( III.S.12 ).<sup>2</sup>

In 1038/39, he began to teach in Baghdad, acting as under-tutor in the class of his master aṭ-Ṭabarī, which established his reputation. The fame of his learning soon became so great in Baghdad that students from all over the Muslim world came to study under him. The Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk, having founded the madrasa at Baghdad called after himself an-Nizāmiyya, invited Abū-Ishāq in 1067 to be director of the madrasa and, on his refusal, appointed Abū-Naṣr ibn aṣ-Ṣabbāgh to that post.<sup>3</sup>

1. Siyāq., f.18a.

2. Subk., III, 90-91; T K M , 276-7; I Kh., I, 5-6; Muntaẓam, IX, 7.

3. Ṣafadī, Nakt al-himyan., 193; I Kh., I, 6; Shadh., III, 350; Subk., III, 90.

This master occupied the position for a short time. Then finally Abū-Ishāq accepted the chair and held it till his death. Abū-Ishāq was strictly a Shāfi'ite scholar but when the dispute on the teaching of al-Ash'arī between the Ash'arites and the Ḥanbalites in Baghdad reached the point of bloodshed, Abū-Ishāq took the side of the Ash'arites and persuaded the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk to condemn the Ḥanbalite shaykhs.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Ishāq's second journey to the East was to Nishapur when the Sultan Malik-Shāh sent him on a mission there in May 1082. In Nishapur the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) came out to receive him and carried his cloak. Afterwards, he held a theological discussion with him in which the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn was convinced of the superiority of his guest.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Ishāq died soon after his return to Baghdad, in 1083, and was buried in the graveyard of Bāb-Ḥarb. His pupils sat down in solemn mourning in the Niẓāmiyya and that madrasa was closed for a whole year. Later aṣ-Ṣabbāgh was recommended to teach in his place.<sup>3</sup>

1. Subk., III, 98, IV, 50-51; Kāmil., X, 71.

2. Siyāq., f.36b; Shadh., III, 350; Hasan "Münejjim Bāshī's Account of Sulṭān Malik Shāh's Reign", Islamic Studies, III (1964), 434; an account of two of the Theological discussions which were held in Nishapur between al-Juwaynī Imām-al-Ḥaramayn and Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī is recorded by as-Subkī, Subk., III, 275-280.

3. Subk., III, 96; Kāmil., X, 147.

Abū-Ishāq wrote a number of instructive and useful books. The following have survived:

1. Al-Mudhḍḥab fi'l-madhhab, composed in 1063-1076, which is a book on the doctrine of the Shāfi'ite sect.
2. At-Tanbīh fi'l-fiqh written in the year 1060-63, a work on jurisprudence.
3. Ṭabaqāt al-fuqahā', short biographies of the jurists of the first two centuries of the Hijra and of the four madhhabs down to his day.<sup>1</sup>

#### S.21 Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Nuqānī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Zāhir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī. He was born in Nuqān in 1006, hence his nisba an-Nuqānī. He studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence under the tuition of the jurist Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭūsī probably in his native city. He received traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lūkī ( III. S. 2 ) and Abū-'Umar al-Biṣṭāmī ( III. S. 3 ). When making the pilgrimage to Mecca, he met in the caravan the Shaykh Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ), Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and a number

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1. Heffening, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Shīrāzī"; G A L, I, 484-486; G A L S, 669-670; see lists of his works in Miftāḥ., II, 179; H Kh., I, 339, 391, 489; II, 1397, 1562, 1743, 1818.

of other eminent men. Having made the pilgrimage, he went to Baghdad where he studied the History of Ya'qūb ibn-Sha'bān. Then he proceeded to Nishapur and dwelt there.<sup>1</sup>

Reference is made that he commenced by teaching traditions in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. He also opened a class in the mosque of the quarter of Ramjār in which he taught jurisprudence. His death occurred in the year 1086. Although an-Nūqānī seems to have been more concerned with traditions than jurisprudence, he nevertheless ranked as a Shāfi'ite jurist of the highest order.<sup>2</sup>

#### S.22 Abū-'l-Qāsim ad-Dabūsī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Muẓaffar ibn-Ḥamza ibn-Zayd ibn-Muḥammad al-'Alawī al-Ḥusaynī. He was a descendant of the Imām Zayn-al-'Ābidīn ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was a native of Dabūsiya which was the name of a town between Bukhārā and Samarqand. He came to Baghdad and learned traditions from Abū-'Umar Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz al-Qanṭarī, Abū-Sahl Aḥmad ibn-'Alī al-Abīwardī and Abū-Mas'ūd Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Bajalī. He studied the system of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence and became a master in this subject. In 1078, he was appointed professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad. It is said that he came to Nishapur and held a disputation assembly with the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III. T. 9 )

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1. Subk., III, 116; a brief note is given by Ibn-'Imād, Shadh., III, 363.
  2. Siyaq., f.40b.

which ended in a serious disagreement between him and the students of the Imām. From Nishapur, he went to Iṣpahan and accidentally the Imām-al-Ḥaramyn came to visit this city with the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk. The Vizier invited both of them for a discussion and it is said that ad-Dabūsī was the superior. He died in Baghdad in 1089.

Ad-Dabūsī was one of the most eminent scholars of the Shāfi'ite sect. He mastered the sciences of jurisprudence, dialectics, controversies between the sects, grammar, philology and Arabic literature. It is said that he even composed some poems.<sup>1</sup>

### S.23 Abū-Bakr al-Khujandī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Thābit ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Khujand, a city which lay on the river Sayḥūn, but he lived in Iṣpahan, where, after studying jurisprudence under Abū-Sahl al-Abīwardī, he became professor at the Niẓāmmiyya madrasa and the leader of the Shāfi'ites. He later went to Nishapur where he was put in charge of religious endowments and was appointed to one of the madrasas. He remained there until his death in 1090. He was one of the most eminent Shāfi'ite jurists and a celebrated professor, but although many scholars studied under him, none of them are named by his biographers.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 6; Lub., I, 410; Ans., f.222a. M B, II, 546-7.

2. Siyāq., f.18b; Wafī., II, 281; see the nisba "al-Khujandī"; Ans., ff. 189b - 190a; Lub., I, 348; and "Khujand", M B, II, 404.

## S.24 Abū-Ḥatīm al-Khaṭībī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was born in 1029, a native of the town of Tūn in the province of Qūhistān. He came to Nishapur to study jurisprudence under Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. T. 9 ). Later he made journeys to Iraq and Syria where he visited Jerusalem and made a pilgrimage to Mecca. He returned to Nishapur and there built the madrasa of al-Murabba'ā in the quarter of al-Kirmāniyya where he himself was appointed a professor until he went blind. He died in Nishapur in 1095 and was buried in the Shāhanbar's graveyard. Al-Khaṭībī was renowned as a celebrated jurist who had a great knowledge of jurisprudence. Since he had studied under the Shāfi'ite scholar Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'īnī,<sup>1</sup> it is probable that he too was a Shāfi'ite jurist.

## S.25 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī

His name was Manṣūr ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ja'far ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-ar-Rabī' ibn-Muslim ibn-'Abd-Allāh at-Tamīmī. He is also known as Ibn-as-Sam'ānī. He was a son of a Ḥanafite master, born at Marw in 1034, and during his childhood studied the Ḥanafite system of jurisprudence under his father. During his youth he went to Mecca on pilgrimage. On his return he went to Nishapur where he attended the lectures of

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1. Siyāq., f.21b.; cf. M B , I, 600.

Imām-al-Ḥaramayn( III. T. 9 ).<sup>1</sup> He returned to his native city and held an assembly in 1075 at the governor's palace during which he abandoned the Ḥanafite system for the Shāfi'ite in the presence of the shaykha of the two sects.<sup>2</sup> This incident caused troubles and riots almost occurred in the city. The officials of the city closed the Friday Mosque to avoid bloodshed between the two sects and forced Abū-'l-Muẓaffar to leave the city. He, with a company of some Shāfi'ite shaykhs, left Marw and went to Tūs. Then he proceeded to Nishapur. He was welcomed as a victor by the Shāfi'ite people of that city. Abū-'l-Muẓaffar held an assembly during which he cited poetry and humorous tales. He also learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ), Ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 29 ) and others. In 1086, he returned to his native city Marw. In this city he taught Shāfi'ism in a Shāfi'ite madraṣa, then he went for his last visit to Nishapur where he attended the assembly of men of letters. In 1095, he proceeded to Iṣpahan where he heard of the assassination of the Vizier Niẓam-al-Mulk in that city. Thence he returned to Marw and died in 1096.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Siyāq.f.130b; Subk., 21; Lub., I, 563; Ans., ff.207b-208a.

2. Subk., III, 22-3; Shadh., III, 393; Siyāq, ff.130b, 131a; Muntazam, IX, 102.

3. Subk., III, 22-25;



Abū-'l-Muẓaffar was a famous commentator on the Qur'ān, as well as a traditionist and jurist. He composed some works on various religious subjects. Ḥajjī-Khalīfa gives the following books written by Abū-'l-Muẓaffar:-

1. Al-Intiṣār li-ahl al-ḥadīth.
2. Al-Awsat.
3. Al-Burhān fi'l-khilāf.
4. At-Tafsīr.
5. Minhāj ahl as-sunna 'alā al-Qadariyya.

No.1 is extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### S.26 Abū-Muḥammad al-Astarābādī

His name was Sa'd ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmān. He was a native of Astarābād. He came to Nishapur to study jurisprudence and entered the classes of Nāṣir al-'Umārī ( III. S. 11 ) in which he studied Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. His second master was al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī in Marw-ar-Rūdh. Then he returned back to Nishapur and continued his study of jurisprudence under the tuition of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) till he mastered this subject. He died in the year 1097. Abū-Muḥammad's contribution to jurisprudence is unknown except he was mentioned in the commentary of Rāfi'ī in the second chapter entitled Nuṣūs at-ṭalāq.<sup>2</sup>

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1. H Kh., I, 107, 173, 202, 242, 449, II, 1870; see also

G A L S, 731.

2. Subk., III, 166.

## S.27 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī

His name was Muẓaffar ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yūsuf, the son of the celebrated theologian Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). Abū-'l-Qāsim studied religious sciences under his father. Then he read in Nishapur the Ṣaḥīḥ of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) under al-Ḥafṣī. He also learned traditions under eminent scholars of the city amongst whom was Ṭāhir ibn-Zāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( III. Q. 63 ). On the death of his father in 1085, he succeeded him as leader of the Shāfi'ite sect. Then he was appointed by the Seljūqs as ra'īs of Nishapur. In 1095 he played a leading part in the riots which broke out between the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanafites on one side and the Karrāmites on the other, which ended in the killing of many of the latter and the sacking of their madrasas. However, Abū-'l-Qāsim stayed in his office as ra'īs till he was killed in 1098.<sup>1</sup>

## S.28 Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Wāsiṭī

His name was al-Mubārak ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh. He was a native of Wāsiṭ. He learned traditions in his native place and in Baghdad, Baṣra and Egypt during which time he received traditions from Abū-'Alī ibn-Shādhān, Abū-'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl al-Farrā' and from others. He then studied the science of jurisprudence under the tuition of

1. Siyāq., f.133a; Kāmil., X, 171, 197; cf. Bos., 189; see below, 457-458.

Abū-'t-Ṭayyib at-Ṭabarī ( III. S. 12). Then he went to Khurasan and dwelt in Nishapur. In this city, he professed in the Mushshuṭiyya madrasa. He died at the age of 87 in the year 1098.

Al-Wāsiṭī was a jurist with an excellent method of discussion. He used in his discussion the Iraqi method which made him superior to his opponents. He obtained distinction by his knowledge of dialectics and the science of jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, II; Siyāq., f.135a.

THE ASH'ARITES AND THE SHĀFI'ITES  
WHO WERE ASH'ARITES IN THEOLOGY

T.1 Ibn-Furak

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Furak. His kunya was Abū-Bakr. He was a native of Iṣṭahān. He studied jurisprudence under 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ja'far al-Iṣṭahānī. He removed to Iraq and remained there some time till he excelled in the doctrine of Ash'arism and had gained experience in teaching that doctrine. Then he proceeded to Rayy, but, as the innovators in religion spread calumnies against him, he went to Nishapur on the invitation of the people of that city. A madrasa and a house were then built for him, in a place near the khancāh of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī ( III. Q. 56 ) and there he taught numerous branches of science. He was subsequently invited to Ghazna and he held legal discussions in that city. Having left Ghazna with the intention of returning to Nishapur, he died of poison on the road in the year 1015-16. He was buried at Hīra graveyard.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Furak was a master of theology and noted philologist, grammarian and preacher. He was also a Shāfi'ite and in his teaching he showed great ardour in confuting the Karrāmites.<sup>2</sup> He composed the following work which has survived and is entitled:

At-Takallum 'ala'l-aḥādīth al-mashhūra allatī zāhiruhā't-tashbīh waraduhā ilā'l-muḥkam.<sup>3</sup>

1. Subk., III, 52-3; TKM, 232-3; I Kh., I, 610; Shadh, III 181-2.

2. Subk., III, 53.

3. GALS, I, 277.

## T.2      Abū-Sa'd al-Kharkūshī

His name was 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur and resided in a street called Kharkūsh, hence his nisba al-Kharkūshī.<sup>1</sup> He studied jurisprudence under the Shāfi'ite jurist Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Māsarjīsī ( II. K. 16 ) till his master gave him a certificate to teach this subject. After the year 999, he went to Iraq, and then made the pilgrimage to Mecca and returned to his native city of Nishapur. He then held an assembly for some time in which he dictated traditions.

Al-Kharkūshī was noted for his generous donations to the poor people of the city of Nishapur. He also built, at his own expense, mosques, bridges, roads and pools. But his most important building was the hospital which he provided with physicians and drugs. He died in Nishapur in 1016.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Kharkūshī was a pious preacher and a traditionist. He also acquired a knowledge of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence and Ash'arite theology. He was a celebrated writer; the following are two of his works which are extant:

1. Kitāb al-bishāra wa'n-nidhāra fī ta'bīr ar-ru'yā wa 'l-murāqaba.
2. Sharaf al-Muṣṭafā<sup>3</sup>

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1. Lub., I, 357; Ans., 195b; M B, II, 421.

2. Shadh., III, 184; Subk., III, 282; T K M, 232-6; Siyāq., f. 95a.

3. G A L, I, 218; G A L S, I, 361.

### T.3 Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Mirhān. He was a native of Isfarā'in and began his study by hearing the lectures of Abū-Bakr al-Ismā'īlī (d.982) in Khurasan, those of Abū-Muḥammad as-Sijzī (d.962) in Iraq and also those of his own contemporaries.<sup>1</sup>

He resided first in Iraq, where his authority and learning were acknowledged by the people of that country. Then he went to Khurasan and settled in Nishapur. The shaykhs of that city took lessons from him in theology. A celebrated madrasa was built for him in Nishapur. In 1020, he held his first dictation assembly in the mosque of 'Aqīl. This assembly was attended by the scholars of the city, and the timetable of his lectures was a lecture each week on Thursday or on Friday afternoon. He died in Nishapur in the year 1027. His body was afterwards removed to his native city of Isfarā'in.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Ishāq was a celebrated Shāfi'ite jurist and Ash'arite theologian. The number of those who benefited from his instructions was very great. Among them were Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī ( III. S. 12 ) and Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and other writers who frequently quote his lessons, such as al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and Abū-Bakr al-Bukhārī.<sup>3</sup> Abū-Ishāq composed some

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1. I Kh., I, 4.

2. T K M, 243-4; Subk., III, 111.

3. Shadh., III, 210.

works on jurisprudence, two of which are mentioned by as-Subkī. They are:-

1. Al-Jāmi' fī uṣūl ad-dīn wa'r-radd 'alā al-mulhidīn.
2. Uṣūl al-fiqh.<sup>1</sup>

Both works are no longer extant.

#### T.4 Ibn-Abī-Sūra

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Sūra ibn-Sa'īd az-Zarrād.<sup>2</sup> His nisba az-Zarrād means 'shield maker' but he was better known as Ibn-Abī-Sūra. He was a native of Nishapur. He learned traditions in Khurasan and Transoxiana from numerous shaykhs. He also studied in Nishapur under Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sarrāj ( III. Q. 17 ), 'Amr ibn-Najīd as-Sulamī ( II. N. 11 ) and others. He came to Baghdad and taught traditions there on the authority of 'Amr ibn-Najīd as-Sulamī and Abū-Ṭāhir Ibn-Khuzayma. He died before 1029 with the first ṭabaqa which were contemporary to al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ).

Ibn-Abī-Sūra was regarded by al-Fārisī as an Ash'arite theologian and one of the well-known reliable traditionists. We do not know under whom he learned Ash'arism or to whom he taught this doctrine but as regards tradition, it is mentioned by al-Fārisī that Aḥmad ibn-Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣūfī delivered traditions on his authority.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 112.

2. See the nisba "az-Zarrād", Lub., I, 497; Ans., f.272b.

3. Siyāq., f.89a., Subk., III, 228.

## T.5      Abū-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī

His name was 'Abd-al-Qāhir ibn-Ṭāhir. He was a native of Baghdad and came to Nishapur with his father. He possessed great wealth which he spent on studying jurisprudence and traditions. In Nishapur, he studied under the Shāfi'ite master Abū-Ishāq al-Isfarā'inī ( III. T. 3 ) and on that master's death, he took his place as a professor in the mosque of 'Aqīl. For some years, he gave lessons which were attended by the great masters of Nishapur, such as the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( IV. V.

2 ). Abū-Manṣūr then left Nishapur because of the rioting by the Turkmen and went to Isfarā'in, where he died in the year 1037-38, and was interred beside the grave of his master Abū-Ishāq.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Manṣūr was well acquainted with literature as well as with jurisprudence, and versed in a great number of other sciences, particularly arithmetic and the law of inheritance. He composed a number of instructive works on various branches of religious and natural sciences. The following have survived:

1. Al-Farq bayna al-firaq.
2. Al-Milal wa'n-nihal.
3. Kitāb uṣūl ad-dīn.
4. Kitāb tafsīr asmā' Allā al-husnā.

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1. T K M, 253-4; Subk., III, 238; Miftāḥ., II, 185; Siyāq., f.105b.; I Kh., I, 375.



5. Faḍā'ih al-Qadariyya.
6. At-Takmila fi'l-hisāb.
7. Kitāb fi 'l-masāḥa
8. Ta'wīl al-Mutashābihāt fi'l-akhbār wa 'l-āyāt.

Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6 and 8 are extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### T.6 Abū-'l-Qasam aṣ-Ṣayrafī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur. He became the disciple of the Ash'arite theologian, Abū-Bakr ibn-Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ), under whom he had probably studied theology. He then became a celebrated Ash'arite theologian and a teacher. He taught Ash'arism in Nishapur with Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III.V.8 ). He died in 1059.<sup>2</sup>

#### T.7 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī

His name was 'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Isfarā'in but he dwelt in Nishapur. He studied the principles of Ash'arite doctrines and dogmatic theology under Abū-Ishāq al-Marwazī. He then occupied the

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1. G A L , I, 482; Tritton, E I<sup>2</sup> , "Al-Baghdādī";  
S E I , "Al-Baghdādī. See also lists of his works  
given in; Subk., III, 229; H Kh., I 254, 335,  
360, 398, 462, 471; II, 1039, 1252, 1392, 1401, 1418,  
1432, 1690, 1769, 1820, 1839.
  2. Siyāq., f.40b.

position of professor in the Bayhaqiyya madrasa. Abū-'l-Qāsim became noted as an Ash'arite theologian and a distinguished muftī in Nishapur. He also had the privilege of teaching the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ), who read Ash'arite principles under him. Abū-'l-Qāsim died in 1061.<sup>1</sup>

#### T.8 Abū-Bakr al-Fūrakī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur, born in 1017, and belonged to a family of distinguished scholars. His paternal grandfather was Abū-Bakr ibn-Fūrak ( III. T. 1 ), a scholar from Iṣṣpahan. Al-Fūrakī studied traditions in Nishapur under Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ) and Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He came to Baghdad where he studied Ash'arism under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Qazzāz till he became a master in this subject. It is reported that he taught in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad. Al-Fārisī considers al-Fūrakī as the best known Ash'arite teacher of his time. Al-Fūrakī died in 1085.<sup>2</sup>

#### T.9 Al-Juwaynī (Imām-al-Ḥaramayn)

His name was 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ḥayyūya. His kunya was Abū-'l-Ma'ālī. He was born in 1028 at Bushtaniqān,

1. T K M , 265; Siyāq., f. 99b.

2. Subk., III, 32; Siyāq., f. 33b; Muntazam., XIII, 17.

a village on the outskirts of Nishapur noted for its parks and the salutary effects of its fresh air and water.<sup>1</sup> While still a youth he was instructed in jurisprudence by his father, Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ), and surpassed him and his predecessors in the extent of his knowledge and his ability to put it into use. On his father's death, in 1016-17, before al-Juwaynī was 20 years old, he undertook the responsibility of continuing his father's teaching, but the study of jurisprudence did not completely satisfy him and he began to attend the lectures of the Ash'arite theologian, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī ( III. T. 7 ), which were then being given in the Bayhaqiyya madrasa. As well as studying dogmatics and theology, he showed some interest in the study of traditions and was taught this by a great number of masters. He is known to have read the Sunan of Dāraquṭnī under Ibn-'Alīk ( III. Q. 38 ) and to have possessed a 'certificate', ijāza, from Abū-Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī, the author of the Hilyat al-awliyā', authorising him to teach those traditions which he had communicated to him.<sup>2</sup>

When the Seljūq ruler, Tughril-Beg's Vizier, al-Kundurī began persecuting the Ash'arite sect as well as the Shī'ites and the Rāfiḍites and an order for the arrest of the leading Ash'arite scholars in Nishapur was issued, al-Juwaynī's name was among those whose arrest was ordered. On the imprisonment of his friend, al-Qushayrī ( III.V.8 ), in the fortress, al-Juwaynī realised that his own life was in danger and in 1058 he escaped first to Baghdad, where he met a number

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1. cf. 16 .

2. I Kh., I, 361; T K M , 278-80; Subk., 249-53; Siyāq., ff. 96a-b.

of learned scholars, and thence to Ḥijāz, where he spent four years acting as a teacher and a muftī and devoting much of his time to collecting Shāfi'ite doctrines from various sources partly in Mecca and partly in Medina. As a result of these activities, he received the honorary name of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn, 'the Imām of the two sanctuaries, Mecca and Medina'.<sup>1</sup>

On the succession of Alp-Arslan to the Seljūq throne and the consequent change in Vizier to Niẓām-al-Mulk, all those who had been exiled and in particular, the Ash'arite scholars, were invited to return to Nishapur and al-Juwaynī was among those who accepted the Vizier's invitation. On his return he was honoured by Niẓām-al-Mulk who had built for him the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur and he continued as head of that madrasa until his death. He instructed many students in the various branches of Islamic knowledge and many of these themselves became distinguished professors, among them Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and Ilkiyā-al-Hirrāsī ( IV.BB. 1 ). Besides fulfilling his duties as a professor, he was the chief preacher in Nishapur and often held assemblies at which he either taught himself or presided over discussions on points of doctrine. He became the leader of the Shāfi'ites and the administration of the religious endowments was confided to his care. In all the positions he occupied he was the undisputed master for over 30 years. He died in 1085 at his native place of Bushtaniqān and his body was transferred to Nishapur where it

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1. T K M ,280; Subk., 11, 270-71, III, 252-55; Muntazam, IX, 18; I Kh., I, 377; cf. Watt, Islamic Philosophy, I, 111; See above, 271-274.

was buried in the yard of his house and later moved to al-Ḥusayn's graveyard.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Juwaynī is regarded by all his biographers, without exception, as the most learned Shāfi'ite jurist and Ash'arite theologian of his time. As celebrated mujtahid, he had to write on very many subjects and topics but his only writings which are still extant are those on jurisprudence and theology. It is thought however that he taught philosophy to his pupil, al-Ghazālī, but none of his philosophical writings have come down to us.<sup>2</sup> With regard to his books on theology, he undoubtedly made the greatest contribution of his time to that discipline and his works entitled ash-Shāmil and al-Irshād ilā qawāṭi' al-adilla fī uṣūl al-i'tiqād made a particularly deep impression on other Muslim thinkers and especially on his most famous pupil, Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī. As regards his writings on jurisprudence, his principal treatise, the book al-Waraqāt fī uṣūl al-fiqh, was in use for many centuries after his death and continued to be commented upon until the seventeenth century. His best-written work, a dissertation on his methodology on the principles of jurisprudence, was entitled al-Burhān fī uṣūl al-fiqh. In this book he was probably the first to establish a juridical method on an Ash'arite basis and As-Subkī, who calls it the Laghz al-umma, drew attention to the immense complexity of the work and its

1. I.Kh., I, 362; Subk., III, 255; Miftāh., II, 188-89.

2. Watt., Islamic Philosophy, I, 112.

unique importance in the study of jurisprudence. As-Subkī also remarks on the reservation shown by al-Juwaynī in that book towards the Sunnite thinkers like al-Ash'arī and Mālik. Several commentaries on al-Juwaynī's book were written by the pupils and followers of Mālik, criticising it and thereby preventing it from becoming very popular among the Mālikites.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 264; Brockelmann (L. Gardet), E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Djuwaynī"; G A L, f.486-488; G A L S, I, 671-673; al-Juwaynī's biography is given in detail by F.H. Mahmoud, al-Juwaynī and his doctrine of the origination of the world, th., Ph.D. (1960), 6-51.

## U

THE KARRĀMITES

## U.1 Ad-Dahhān

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad at-Tamīmī. His kunya was Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān. He was a native of Nishapur and a descendant of the Arabian tribe called Tamīm. He learned traditions in Nishapur from his father and from Abū-‘l-Faḍl as-Sulamī, Abū-Ḥamid ibn-Bilāl and from al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). In 998, the masters of Nishapur wrote down traditions from him. He died in 1012-1013. Ad-Dahhān was a Karrāmīte thinker and a reliable traditionist and he was associated with the Karrāmītes in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

## U.2 Ibn-Mu‘adh

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Mu‘adh ibn-Muḥammad. He was the maternal uncle of the Karrāmīte theologian Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ). He studied the science of jurisprudence under the tuition of his father Mu‘adh. Then he continued his studies of jurisprudence under his nephew Muḥammad ibn-Hayḍam till he graduated under him and became a master of the science of the principles, uṣūl, of jurisprudence. He died in 1029.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.1a.

2. Ibid., ff.6a-b.

## U.3      Abū-Bakr Muḥammad

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-Maḥmashādh. He was the son of the leader of the Karrāmites Ishāq ( II. M. 1 ) and became himself their leader. During the reign of Sultan Maḥmūd, he was appointed ra'īs of Nishapur and we have recounted above the measures which he implemented during the time he held that office and his relations with the other Sunnite leaders, especially with his opponents, the Rāfiḍites, whose new mosque was destroyed by him, and how he was eventually brought down by Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ), the leader of the Ḥanafites. During the time that he was ra'īs he was instructed to build ribāṭ on the route to Sarakhs, but nothing else worthy of note, which has not been already mentioned, was done by him during his period in office.<sup>1</sup> In 1014, he is believed to have lectured in a place called 'the valley of the river', Shaṭṭ al-Wādī (Saghāwar), where al-Ḥusḩanī ( III. Q. 71 ) and then Abū-'Amr ibn-Yahya acted as his lecture-assistants. He related traditions on the authority of Abū-Aḩmad al-Ḥakim ( II. I. 43 ). Abū-Bakr died in 1030.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See above, 260-262.

2. Siyāq., f.4a; cf. Bosworth, "The rise of the Karāmiyyah in Khurasan", M W , L (1960), 13-14.



## U.4 'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-al-Hayḍam

His name was 'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam. He was a native of Nishapur. He was the son of the Karrāmīte theologian Ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ). 'Abd-as-Sallām studied jurisprudence, theology and other Islamic subjects under his father. Once finished with his studies in Nishapur, he went to Rayy where he held theological discussions with 'Abd-al-Jabbār al-Hamadḥānī. He **then** went on a pilgrimage to Mecca and came to Baghdad in 1001-5. There he entered the court of the Caliph 'Abd-al-Qāhir where he delivered an oration in praise of the Caliph. He was raised to wealth and honour by the Caliph. Then he returned to Nishapur and was received in honour by the notables of that city. He held a dhikr assembly, but he left Nishapur shortly afterwards during the Turkmen riot, though he returned to the city for the remainder of his life and died there in the year 1048-49.<sup>1</sup>

## U.5 Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Hayḍam

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Hayḍam. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the Karrāmīte theologian Ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ). During his childhood he was taught the theological doctrines of the Karrāmītes by his father and, when his father died, when Abū-  


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 1. Siyāq., f105b.

Bakr was aged 11, his education was continued by his brother 'Abd-as-Sallām ( III. U. 4 ) from whom he learned the principles of the Karrāmīte doctrines and the basic principles of their metaphysics. He later attended the series of lectures given by Abū-Bakr al-Khaṭṭābī on the principles of Arabic literature. As a result of his intensive education, he acquired a considerable reputation and was associated with the leaders of the Karrāmītes, being regarded by al-Fārisī as one of the imāms of that sect. He died in 1074.<sup>1</sup>

#### U.6 Abū-Sa'd al-Bastighī

His name was Nusayb ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Hishām. He was a native of Nishapur from a village in that city called Bastigh. He was born in 1002 and learned traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-'Alawī (d. 1010). He died in the year 1077.

Abū-Sa'd was believed to have been a Karrāmīte and it is said that traditions were delivered on his authority by Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl al-Furāwī in Nishapur, and Zāhir ibn-Ṭāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 12 ) in Iṣpahan.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.84a.

2. Ans., 80a; Lub., I, 122; cf. M B, I, 620.

## U.7     Abū-Bakr as-Sūriyānī

His name was 'Atīq ibn-Muhammad. He was a native of Nishapur and resided in the quarter of as-Sūriyān in that city. Nothing is known about his life except that he was the leader of the Karrāmīte sect in Nishapur. He died in 1098.<sup>1</sup>

## U.8     Ibn-al-Hayḍam

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam. His kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He is said to have belonged to the people who lived in the mountains of Herat. There is no record of the date of his birth or death, but from the fact that his son, 'Abd-Allāh (III.U.5) died in 1074, we can deduce that he must have lived in the early decades of the eleventh century. Nothing is also known of his education or his teachers, but he became a noted theologian. He is considered by adh-Dhahabī to be the main theological exponent of Karrāmism in Nishapur, but the Shāfi'ite writer, al-Bākhari, who greatly admired Ibn-al-Hayḍam, observes that in his book I'jāz al-Qur'ān most of the content and references are soundly Sunnite and that the Karrāmītes would be unable to produce such a work. On dogmatic theology he is related to have composed a book on the principles of tawḥīd, but all of his works are no longer extant. After the eclipse of the Karrāmītes' political influence, a theological school made its appearance in Nishapur under the name of Hayḍamiyya, and though nothing is

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1. Siyāq., f. 119a.

known of its doctrine, its adherents were descendants and followers of Ibn-al-Hayḍam.<sup>1</sup>

U.9            Ad-Dūrī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-Azīz. He was a notable man in Nishapur. He was the disciple of the Karrāmite theologian, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 8 ) under whom he studied the Karrāmite doctrines. He also heard traditions from 'Abd-as-Sallām ibn Muḥammad ibn-al-Hayḍam ( III. U. 4 ). He died in the last decade of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bākhari, Dumya-al-qasr., 165; Mizān., IV, 21.

H. Ritter, "Philologika XIII. Arabische Handschriften in Anatolien und Istanbul", Oriens., II, (1949), 306.

2. Siyāq., f.127a.

## IV

THE MYSTICSAS-SULAMĪ, AL-QUSHAYRĪ AND ABŪ-SA'ĪD

In another chapter, we have already mentioned that there had existed a group of scholars in Nishapur who had met or studied under al-Junayd al-Baghdādī and among those who are known to have done so were Abū-Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī (II. N. 4),

Ash-Sha'rānī ( II. N. 9 ) and Ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ).

It is not therefore surprising to find in the eleventh century a teacher by the name of Ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ), a pupil of an-Naṣrābādhi ( II. N. 12), still preaching the doctrines of al-Junayd and having a mystical circle in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup> The grandson and one of the pupils of Ibn-Najīd, Abū-'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) alleged that his grandfather followed the Malāmite path and therefore it is probable that as-Sulamī learned that path under him.<sup>2</sup> The earliest account which we have of the doctrine of the Malāmite mystic sect comes to us from his treatise entitled Risālat al-Malāmitiyya; we have already stated above the important principles of the sect mentioned in this treatise.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Shadh., III, 180.

2. Subk., II, 189.

3. See above, 96-100.

As-Sulamī's writings are an invaluable source book on the disciplines and doctrines of various different mystic schools and it is from them that we derive most of our knowledge of the history, biographies and doctrines of the mystics. Amongst his writings on Mysticism were Ta'rikh aṣ-ṣūfiyya, Ṭabaqāt as-ṣūfiyya and Miḥan aṣ-ṣūfiyya.<sup>1</sup> However, as most of his writings are suffused with his mysticism, they have been criticised by al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdadī as being an unreliable source because they contain many 'weak' or even 'invented' traditions. This is especially true of his commentary on the Qur'ān, the Tafsīr ahl al-ḥaqq, which was written for 'the people of truth' as an attempt to justify mysticism.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, as-Sulamī had a large following in Nishapur and his khanqāh, was attended by scholars of varying shades of opinions, among whom were Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ), Abū-Bakr al-Muzakkī ( III. Q. 59 ), al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ) and al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ).<sup>3</sup>

Al-Qushayrī, although born in the district of Ustuwā, came to Nishapur to attend the lectures of ad-Daqqāq and these had such an influence upon him that he decided that from thenceforth he would devote himself to the pursuit of knowledge and mysticism.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Amedroz "Notes on some Sufi lives", J R A S, (1912), 555.

2. Khaṭ., II, 248; as-Subkī quotes from al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdadī, Subk., III, 60-61; as-Sulamī was alleged of being Qarmaṭian, ibid., III, 62.

3. Subk., III, 60.

4. I Kh., I, 376.

He studied jurisprudence and theology extensively under the eminent masters of Nishapur, including Abū-Bakr at-Ṭūsī and al-Isfarā'inī ( III. T. 3 ), and he also read the works of al-Bāqilānī.<sup>1</sup> With such a background, he was well equipped to attempt an inter-relation between his theological speculations, and in particular, Ash'arite metaphysics, with his mystical beliefs and practices. This he did in his famous work, the Risāla. His attraction for the doctrines of Ash'arism is also manifested in his book, the Shikāya, which was written in 1054 after the persecution of the Ash'arites and in which he stoutly defended the Ash'arites against any charge of heterodoxy.<sup>2</sup> He married ad-Daqqāq's daughter, Fāṭima ( III. V. 13 ), who also became a mystic and spent most of her life in teaching her children mysticism. It is reported that when Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'inī ( III. Q. 2 ) visited Nishapur to deliver a hearing of the Musnad of Abū-Uwāna, she was one of those who attended his lectures.<sup>3</sup> Al-Qushayrī's teachings were continued by his six sons, the most famous of whom was Abū-Naṣr ( IV. BB. 3 ), who was a preacher and Ash'arite theologian.

A contemporary of al-Qushayrī was Abū-Sa'id ( III. U. 5 )

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1. I Kh., I, 376-77; T K M, 271-3; Subk., III, 244-5; see below (List No. I.B), 613.
  2. Massignon, E I, "al-Qushayrī".
  3. Siyāq., ff. 123b-124a. Fāṭima was born in 1000 and since Abū-Nu'aym came to Nishapur in 1009, therefore she learned from him the Musnad during her childhood and before her marriage to Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī.

a native of Mayhana. Abū-Sa'īd's biography was written by his descendant Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar in his work entitled Asrār at-tawhīd fī maqāmāt ash-Shaykh Abī-Sa'īd. For the first forty years of his life, Abū-Sa'īd appears to have devoted himself to the study of theology but thereafter he abandoned his studies, buried his books and note-books and took up the practice of mysticism and contemplation.<sup>1</sup> He lived in Nishapur for about a decade, from 1024 to 1034, and the account given of his stay there gives us a fascinating insight into his relations with other mystics and Sunnite scholars.<sup>2</sup> On entering the city, he was met enthusiastically by the mystics of the quarter of the 'Carpet Beaters' who had come out to welcome him. He started holding lectures in Nishapur which were well attended by the other mystics of the city, including over seventy former pupils of al-Qushayrī and finally even by al-Qushayrī himself.<sup>3</sup> There developed a slight disagreement between the two scholars as to the way that 'recollection', dhikr, should be conducted because Abū-Sa'īd insisted upon introducing the novel samā' into his auditions of which al-Qushayrī disapproved.<sup>4</sup> He was able to attract a large following from all classes within Nishapur, except the Ghaznavids

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1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār-at-tawhīd, 49.

2. Both Bosworth and Nicholson presume the period of Abū-Sa'īd stay in Nishapur as it is mentioned above, Bos., 189; Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 26.

3. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 69, 113; cf. Nicholson, op.cit., 33.

4. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 85; cf. Nicholson, op.cit., 34; Bos., 192.



ruling class who regarded him with suspicion, and, although as a mystic he was expected to live humbly and in poverty like the ascetic Muslims, he was the object of such large public donations that he became a wealthy merchant and lived in his house like a prince. Most of the money he received, he spent lavishly on private hospitality, in entertainments and public dinners.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Qushayrī was more than doubtful about the Sunnism of some of Abū-Sa'īd's activities, particularly with regard to the way in which he ran his 'convent' and his introductions therein of ascetic music, singing and dancing.<sup>2</sup>

Despite his popularity among certain sections of the community, Abū-Sa'īd aroused the suspicion of the more Sunnite scholars and a'yān of the city. The main opposition came from the leaders of the legal schools, the Ḥanafites under Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ) and the Shāfi'ites under Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ). Even the minority sect of the Shī'ites joined forces with Abū-Sa'īd's opposition and took the opportunity to curse him publicly in the street as he passed, and eventually the leader of the Karrāmites, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ), the ra'īs at that time of Nishapur, was forced to become opposed to his teachings. Supported by the other Sunnite leaders, Abū-Bakr drew up a written charge against Abū-Sa'īd and

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1. See in detail Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 35-37, and Ritter, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abū-Sa'īd"

2. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd, 77, cf. Bos., 192; Nicholson, op.cit., 32-33.

sent it to the Ghaznavid Sultan, Maḥmūd at Ghazna. In the charge, it was mentioned that when Abū-Sa'īd preached sermons, he recited poetry and spent more time on music and dancing than he did on teaching Sunnite doctrines, and it accused him of stirring up the multitude, thereby endangering the security of the city and encouraging a general riot. The Sultan replied by giving the Ḥanafite and Shāfi'ite imāms authority to constitute a council of enquiry into the allegations and to inflict upon Abū-Sa'īd, if found guilty, whatever penalty the sharī'a demands.<sup>1</sup> Surprisingly, according to the accounts that we have, all ended well for Abū-Sa'īd with the defeat of his opponents and their dramatic change into becoming his supporters.<sup>2</sup>

Nicholson believed that this account may not be entirely fictitious since the Sunnite parties were no doubt scandalised by Abū-Sa'īd's luxurious manner of living and by the unlicensed practices in which he and his followers indulged themselves and he confirmed that the charges which the Sunnite leaders brought against him were substantially true and that he made no effort to deny them.<sup>3</sup> Bosworth however does not think that the account ended so simply, by the submission of the Sunnite leaders to Abū-Sa'īd, and believes that a reconciliation took place between the two sides, supporting his theory by a report from Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar which mentions that several meetings took place

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1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd, 77-78.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 229; Bos., 192-4.

3. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 32-33.

between the religious leaders of Nishapur and among those who attended were the Shaykhs al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ), Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) and his son ( III. T. 9 ) Qāḍī Ṣaʿīd (III. R. 6 ), Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3) and Ismāʿīl aṣ-Ṣābūnī (III. Q. 48 ). Bosworth suggests that some acceptable compromise was then worked out.<sup>1</sup>

In discussing Abū-Saʿīd's mystical doctrines, European scholars were almost entirely dependent on some verses rubāʿīyyāt which were believed to have been composed by him and which are still extant.<sup>2</sup> Nicholson however doubts that these were ever composed by him and claims that they were drawn from a miscellaneous anthology containing the verses of many poets who had flourished at different periods. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar in his Asrār at-tawḥīd quotes some of Abū-Saʿīd's sayings and from them scholars have deduced that they were largely without doctrinal or philosophical content.<sup>3</sup> However it appears that Abū-Saʿīd was the first to introduce into his sermons some kind of dervishism in which singing, poetry and ascetic dancing were the prominent characteristics.

After the quarrel between Abū-Saʿīd and the religious Sunnite leaders had been somehow settled, he ensured that he maintained good relations with the Ghaznavid ruling officials

1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd., 229; Bos., 193.

2. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, I, 48; L H P , II, 261-264.

3. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 293-344; for the translation of Abū-Saʿīd's quatrains, see Nicholson, op.cit., 48-76 and Browne, L H P , II, 264-267.

to the end of their rule in Khurasan. When the Seljūqs arrived in Khurasan, he was held in even higher respect by their leaders Ṭughril-Beg and Chaghri, who came to Mayhana for his blessing and received from him a prophecy concerning their eventual victory over the Ghaznavids and their rule over Iraq. It is also reported that he predicted young Niẓām-al-Mulk's rise to power.<sup>1</sup>

During the later years of Ghaznavid rule, with the influence of Ash'arism spreading throughout Khurasan generally and in Nishapur in particular, most of the famous mystics were known for their Ash'arite sympathies in theology. Both ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ) and as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) were Ash'arite and al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) also had strong sympathies in this direction and was favoured by the Seljūq Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, after the Vizier had put an end to the persecution of members of that sect under the Ṭughril's Vizier, al-Kundurī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd., 67-170; Bos., 194.

2. See above, 271-274.

THE MYSTICS (100-1100)

V.1      Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān. He was a native of Nishapur but he went to Marw to study jurisprudence, and in particular Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. His first teacher in this subject was al-Khuḍrī but he completed his studies under Abū-Bakr al-Qaffāl. He then returned to Nishapur with the intention of continuing his studies in uṣūl, jurisprudence and literature, with the object of becoming a jurist. However he became associated with the mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādī (II. N. 12) and subsequently abandoned his intended career and entered the path of mysticism.

Although ad-Daqqāq is included among the numbers of Shāfi'ite jurists by as-Subkī and is also regarded by Ibn-'Asākir as an Ash'arite in theological matters, he was mainly renowned in his time for being one of the great masters of mysticism. Many assemblies were conducted by him and a large number of distinguished scholars heard his lectures and learned his path of mysticism. Among those who studied under him was Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). According to Ibn-'Imād, the path of mysticism which ad-Daqqāq followed was that of al-Junayd al-Baghdādī. Ad-Daqqāq died in Nishapur in the year 1014.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 145-6; TKM, 226-7; Shadh, III, 180; Naf., 291; Kashf., 162-63; Muntazam., VIII, 7.

## V.2      Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī

Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Mūsā was his name. He was a native of Nishapur, born in 941. In his youth, he learned the path of mysticism from his father and 'Amr ibn-Najīd ( II. N. 11 ). The latter was his maternal grandfather. For some time he learned traditions from the Nishapurians Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), Abū-'Alī al-Ḥāfiẓ ( II. I. 31 ) and others. He also wrote down traditions in Marw, Ḥijāz and Iraq. The capital of the latter country, Baghdad, was visited by him several times and he taught traditions in that city on the authority of his masters, al-Aṣamm and others. Having finished his studies under Ibn-Najīd he had Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābādī (II.N.12) as his second master in mysticism. He was invested by the latter with a khirqā and soon acquired the reputation of being the master of the 'paths', ṭarīqas. He also built a 'convent' for the mystics in Nishapur which was attended by many scholars such as Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ). Mention has been made that he taught and dictated and read traditions for forty years. He died in his native city in 1021-22.<sup>1</sup>

As-Sulamī was one of the earliest writers on mysticism. It is said that he wrote about 100 books and particularly concentrated in his writings on mysticism. The following

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1. Subk., III, 60; Siyāq., f.3a; Naf., 311; Miftāḥ., I, 401; Shadh., III, 196; Muntazam, VIII, 6.

have survived:-<sup>1</sup>

1. Miḥan aṣ-ṣūfiyya.
2. Ṭabaqāt as-ṣūfiyya (or Ṭabaqāt aṣ-ṣūfiyyīn)
3. Ta'rikh aṣ-ṣūfiyya.
4. Tafsīr ahl al-ḥaqq.
5. Risālat al-Malāmatīyya.
6. Ghalṭāt aṣ-ṣūfiyya.
7. Jawāmi' aṣ-ṣūfiyya.
8. Minhāj al-'arīfīn.
9. 'Uyūb an-nafs wa dawā'ihā.
10. Darajāt al-mu'āmalāt.
11. Sulūk al-'arīfīn.
12. Adab aṣ-ṣuḥba wa ḥusn al-'ushra.
13. Ḥaqā'iq at-Tafsīr.

### V.3 Ibn-Bākuwayhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Ubayd-Allāh ash-Shirāzī. His kunya was Abū-'Abd-Allāh. He travelled widely in Fārs, Khurasan, Iṣpahan, Gurgān, Bukhārā, Baṣra, Kūfa and Damascus and during these journeys he heard traditions from Abū-Aḥmad al-Qaṭṭā'ī and others. He later took the vow of mysticism and resided in as-Sulamī's( III. V. 2 ) convent in Nishapur until his death in 1036-37.

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1. 'Afīfī "Risālat al-Malāmatīyya", Fouad i University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, VI (1942), 64-66; G A L S, I, 361-62; G A L, I, 218-219; Amedroz, "Notes on some Sufi lives" J R A S, XVII (1912), 555; Ḥajjī-Khalīfa mentions some of his works in H Kh., I, 42, 53, 168, 286; II, 673, 955, 1006, 1104, 1183, 1445, 1784.

Although he was an unreliable traditionist, he was renowned as a mystic and it is mentioned that he had a great knowledge of the paths of various masters of mysticism and that he collected the tales and biographies of many prominent mystics.

Al-Fārisī mentions that in his native city of Shīrāz, Ibn-Bākuwayhī met the famous poet al-Mutanabbī and that, as a result of this meeting, he learnt from him a collection of his poems. Al-Fārisī also relates that Ibn-Bākuwayhī was heard to quote from a collection of the poetry of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### V.4 Abū-'Alī as-Sijzī

His name was Ishāq ibn-'Abd-ar-Rahmān. He was a native of Sijistān but he lived in Nishapur. He was a brother of the famous scholar, Abū-'Amr Ismā'il and he himself heard traditions in the cities of Nishapur, Herat and Baghdad. In Nishapur, he deputized for the scholar, Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ) in presiding over the dhikr assembly. He died in Nishapur in 1043 and was buried in the cemetery of the street of Ḥarb.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff.6b-7a; Shadh., III, 242; Wafī, III, 322.

2. Siyāq., f.47a.



## V.5 Shaykh Abū-Sa'īd al-Mayhanī

His name was al-Faḍl or Faḍl-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 967 in Mayḥana, the central town of the Khawarān district of Khurasan. His father Abū-'l-Khayr Aḥmad was known to have been a pious and religious man and to have been well acquainted with the sharī'a and the practices of mysticism. As a youth, Abū-Sa'īd accompanied his father around Mayhana, listening to the discussions, lectures and sermons given by the mystic community there.<sup>1</sup> He also studied the rudiments of Islamic education, reading the Qur'ān under Abū-Muḥammad al-'Ayyārī, learning grammar under Abū-Sa'īd al-'Ayyārī, and studying jurisprudence under Abū-'l-Qāsim Bishr al-Yāsīn of Mayhana. The latter teacher also instructed him in various aspects of mysticism, introducing him to the practice of 'recollection', dhikr, and teaching him the doctrine of disinterested love which is the basis of mysticism.<sup>2</sup>

While still a student, he went to Marw with the purpose of studying theology under Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Ḥuṣrī<sup>3</sup> and he remained reading under al-Ḥuṣrī for five years. He stayed in Marw for another five years, studying this time under Abū-Bakr al-Qaffāl, and then went to Sarakhs where he attended the lectures of Abū-'Alī Zāhir on Qur'ānic interpretation, systematic

1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar Asrār at-tawhīd, 15-16; Lub., III, 203; Ans., f.550a; MB, IV, 743. According to al-Hujwīrī, Abū-Sa'īd father's name was Muḥammad, Kashf., 164.

2. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 17-18.

3. Ibid., op.cit., 20-23.

theology and traditions.<sup>1</sup> Nicholson calculates that Abū-Sa'īd was probably between 25 and 28 when he first visited Sarakhs. It was in this town that his conversion to mysticism took place under the supervision of his spiritual director, the Shaykh Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Ḥasan. The latter gave him a cell opposite his own in order that he might keep him always under his observation but later transferred him into his own cell to keep him under still closer supervision. At last, Abū-'l-Faḍl advised him to return home to Mayhana and take care of his aged mother. At Mayhana he lived in a cell in his father's house, making occasional visits to Sarakhs to receive spiritual guidance from his director Abū-'l-Faḍl. It is said that on one of these visits he once stayed in Sarakhs for a year to receive further instructions from Abū-'l-Faḍl. Finally, his director sent him to Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (III. V. 2 ) in Nishapur for investiture with the khirqā, the patched frock, which signifies and proclaims him a recognized member of the mystical community.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd., 24; Kashf., 165; Naf., 300; Ans., f. 550a; Lub., III, 203.
  2. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 28, 35-36, 127. Naf., loc.cit., Kashf., loc.cit., 28, see Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 6; Ritter, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abū Sa'īd".

After the death of his parents, Abū-Sa'īd wandered for over seven years in the deserts between Mayhana and Abīward and between Marw and Sarakhs.<sup>1</sup> He then returned to Mayhana where he learnt that his director Abū-'l-Faḍl had died. Accompanied by Aḥmad an-Najjār and Muḥammad Faḍl, Abū-Sa'īd set out for Āmul in Ṭabaristān via Nasā, attracted by the fame of the Shaykh Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Qaṣṣāb. He stayed for a year in al-Qaṣṣāb's kanqah being given the cell opposite the oratory in the 'assembly room', jama'at khāna. He was invested then for the second time, this time with a khirqā by the Shaykh al-Qaṣṣāb and advised by al-Qaṣṣāb to return to Mayhana.<sup>2</sup>

The date of Abū-Sa'īd's second visit to Nishapur is not known, but the visit appears to have been a fairly long one. He stayed there for approximately a decade between 1024 and 1034.<sup>3</sup> Both ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ) and as-Sulamī were by this time dead and the leadership of the mystic community was then entrusted to al-Qushayrī (III.V.8). Despite the differences which arose between al-Qushayrī and Abū-Sa'īd over the manner in which the latter conducted his assemblies and the ostentatious style in which he lived, they appear to have kept their public relations on good terms. We have already mentioned that the strongest opposition to Abū-Sa'īd came from the Karrāmīte leader, Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( III. U. 3 ), and the spiritual

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1. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd, 40.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 43, 50-51, 56; Naf., 301.

3. See above, 396.

leaders of the Ḥanafites and Shāfi'ites, and have already discussed the various ways in which Abū-Sa'īd allegedly overcame this opposition and persuaded them to shelve their accusations.<sup>1</sup>

It was in Nishapur that Abū-Sa'īd is said to have met the philosopher Ibn-Sīnā and their meeting is supposed to have lasted for three days in his monastery. Ibn-Sīnā is reported to have said to his pupils "All that I know, he sees", and Abū-Sa'īd to have replied "All that I see, he knows". Nicholson doubts the historical accuracy of this meeting and in particular the account given of its outcome in which it is said that Ibn-Sīnā's mystical writings were due to a miracle performed by Abū-Sa'īd which opened the philosopher's eyes to the reality of mysticism and saintship.<sup>2</sup>

To the regret of the mystical community in Nishapur, Abū-Sa'īd eventually left that city to return to Mayhana to retire, until his death in 1049. He was buried in the mosque opposite his house.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See above, 395-400.

2. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, Asrār at-tawḥīd, 209-211; Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism, 42; cf. Ritter, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Abū Sa'īd".

3. Muḥammad ibn-al-Munawwar, op.cit., 62, 354; Naf., 307.

## V.6      Abū-Ṣāliḥ an-Naysābūrī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Sulaymān. He was a native of Nishapur and became acquainted with the mystic master there, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He made about 30 pilgrimages to Mecca and during one of them he met the master of Mecca, as-Sīrwānī. He died in 1066. He was a mystic himself and was inclined towards the Ṣāḥirite teachings and he firmly rejected all theological currents and dogmas.<sup>1</sup>

## V.7      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Juwaynī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Yūsuf ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yūsuf. He was a native of Juwayn and was the paternal uncle of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He learned traditions from Abū-Nu'aym al-Isfarā'īnī ( III. Q. 2 ), Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) and from others. He went to Ḥijāz and lived in that country where he became the Shaykh of Ḥijāz in mysticism. He died in 1070. Abū-'l-Ḥasan was a mystic and an author. His excellent work on mysticism was entitled as-Salwa. He also had a tendency towards Shāfi'ism and it is reported by as-Subkī that the Shāfi'ite jurists Ṣāḥir ibn-Ṭāḥir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 12 ) and his brother Wajīḥ ( IV. Y. 13 ) had delivered traditions on his authority.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff.29a-b.

2. Ibid., f.112b; MB, II, 164; Subk., IV, 7.

## V.8 Al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin ibn-Talḥa ibn-Muḥammad. His laqab was Zayn-al-Islām. His nisba al-Qushayrī indicates that he was a descendant of Qushayr ibn-Ka'b, the progenitor of a great Arabian tribe. He drew his nisba from one of the Arabs who settled in Khurasan probably in the first conquest of that country in the seventh century. His family inhabited Ustuwā which is a district covered with villages within the boundaries of Nishapur.<sup>1</sup> Al-Qushayrī was born in Ustuwā in 986. At an early age, he lost his father. His youth was devoted to the study of Arabic literature. He owned a village in the neighbourhood of Ustuwā and, as it was very heavily taxed, he thought he could remedy this by going to Nishapur and acquiring sufficient knowledge of arithmetic to qualify him as an assessor so as to be able to protect his village from the heavy taxation. On his arrival in Nishapur, he happened to attend an assembly presided by the famous mystic Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq (III. V. 1 ). The latter was much admired by al-Qushayrī and left such a deep impression on his mind that he altered his former plan and entered the life of mysticism. On the advice of his master ad-Daqqāq, he attended the lessons of the jurist Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn-Bakr at-Ṭūsī under whom he pursued the study of jurisprudence till he had noted down the whole course as delivered by his teacher. Afterwards he studied dogmatic theology under the Ash'arite scholar Abū-Bakr ibn-Furak (III. T. 1 ).<sup>2</sup> He then went to

1. I Kh., I, 376; T K M, 271-2; Miftāḥ., I, 438; Lub., II, 264; Ans., f.453b; Siyāq., f.97b.

2. Subk., III, 244-5; T K M, 272-3; Miftāḥ., I, 439.

the classes of Abū-Ishāq al-Isfara'īnī ( III. T. 3 ) and extended his knowledge by reading the works of his last master. He also studied the books composed by Abū-Bakr al-Bāqilānī. During this time he regularly followed the assembly held by his first master Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq. The relation between him and the latter were further strengthened after al-Qushayrī married his daughter. On the death of his father-in-law, ad-Daqqāq, he devoted himself to mysticism. In Nishapur, he met the great mystic Abū-'Abd-ar-Rahmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ).<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1045-6, he opened a class where he taught traditions. Then he began a long journey to the West and began by visiting Hijāz. In the year 1056, he visited Baghdad and taught traditions there. Reference has already been made that many eminent scholars in that city wrote down traditions in his dictation course. Among those scholars was al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī.<sup>2</sup>

From 1048 to 1063, al-Qushayrī, along with other Ash'arite leaders of Nishapur, was persecuted by the Seljūq officials, who forced them to abandon their classes and assemblies. The situation remained unaltered till Alp-Arslān came to power in 1063, then the Ash'arites recovered their prestige.<sup>3</sup>

Al-Qushayrī spent the rest of his life in Nishapur and frequently visited Tūs. In December 1072, he died in Nishapur

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1. I Kh., I, 377; T K M, 273.

2. Siyāq., f.97b; Shadh., III, 320; Khaṭ., X, 83.

3. Subk., III, 245; T K M, 274; see above, 371-374.

and was buried in a madrasa at the foot of the grave of his master ad-Daqqāq.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Qushayrī was a learned man and a profound scholar. His knowledge covered various branches of Islamic sciences such as jurisprudence, Qur'ānic exegesies, tradition, dogmatic theology, Arabic literature and poetry. He exercised uṣūl as an Ash'arite and furūq as a Shāfi'ite. But he is most renowned for his profound knowledge of mysticism, to the practices of which he brought a perfect knowledge of Ash'arism.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Qushayrī composed many works, of which the following are extant:-

1. Ar-risāla ilā jamā'at aṣ-ṣūfiyya bi-bulḍān al-Islām
2. Ash-Shikāya ilā ahl as-sunna bi-ḥikāya mā nālahum min al-miḥna
3. Laṭā'if al-ishārat bi-tafsīr al-Qur'ān
4. Tartīb as-sulūk.
5. At-Taḥbīr fī'ilm at-tadhkīr
6. Istifādāt al-murādāt
7. Sharḥ al-asmā' al-ḥusnā
8. Al-Qaṣīda aṣ-ṣūfiyya
9. Al-luma' fī'l-i'tiqād
10. Al-Fuṣūl
11. Ḥayāt al-arwāḥ wa'd-dalīl ilā ṭarīq aṣ-ṣalāḥ wa'l-falāḥ
12. At-Tawḥīd an-nabawī
13. At-Tafsīr fī 'ilm at-tafsīr.<sup>3</sup>

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1. T K M, 276; Naf., 313.

2. Siyāq., f.97b; I Kh., I, 376; he is also regarded by al-Bakharzī as an able poet, Dumyat al-qasr., 194.

3. Massignon, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Kushairi"; G A L, I, 556-7; G A L S, I, 770-73; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 23-24; L H P, II, 288; A L, 271-72; Ḥajji-Khalifa gives a list of most of his writings, Ḥ Kh., I, 58, 254, 457, 520., II, 882, 1035, 1183, 1260, 1460, 1551, 1640, 1858, 1920, 1935.



## V.9 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar ash-Shujā'ī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur. Mention is first made of him when he became candidate of the 'will', irāda, path of mysticism under the guidance of the master Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq (III. V. 1 ). Later, he came to know the mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ) and was appointed qāḍī in the tribunal council in Nishapur. He died in 1072.<sup>1</sup>

## V.10 Abū-Sa'd al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was the eldest son of the famous master, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ), and was born in Nishapur in 1023. Under his father, he was introduced to the disciplines of mysticism and learned traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī (III. S. 6 ) and many others in Nishapur. He visited Baghdad in 1063 with his father and heard traditions in that city. In Nishapur itself he became well-known as a master of mysticism. After the death of his father in 1072, he took over the task of presiding over his father's classes for about 13 years. He died in Nishapur in 1084.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., ff.13b-14a.

2. Ibid., f.82b; Shadh., III, 354.

## V.11 'Abū-'Alī al-Fārmadhī

Al-Faḍl ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī was his name. He was a native of Ṭūs, from a village called Fārmadh, hence his nisba al-Fārmadhī. He studied jurisprudence under the tuition of Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī al-Kabīr. He also delivered traditions on the authority of Ibn-Bākuwayhi ash-Shīrāzī ( III. V. 3 ), Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān an-Nīlī, Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī (III. Q. 48) and from others. Then he came to Nishapur and resided in the Qushayriyya madrasa. During his stay in this city he studied mysticism under Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He then returned to his birth place Ṭūs. Reference is made that he made a second visit to Nishapur accompanied by his son Abū-'l-Maḥāsīn whom he entered for the study of traditions. He also held an assembly in which his lectures were much admired by his audience. Afterwards, he returned to his birth place where his fame became so great that he was highly favoured by the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk. He died at Ṭūs in 1084.

Al-Fārmadhī was one of the most distinguished mystics of Nishapur, as well as of Ṭūs, in his time. It was believed that many mystics from various parts of Islamic lands came to visit him and to enquire about his path of mysticism. For it is reported that he had an excellent path and discipline to show to the seekers of mysticism. Among his most distinguished students was the famous scholar Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (IV. CC. 1)<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 9-10; Shadh., III, 355; Siyaq., ff.121b-122a; Naf., 368; Lub., II, 191; Ans., f.416a.

## V.12      Abū-Bakr ash-Shīrazī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-‘Alī ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. He was born in 1007 in Nishapur but, as his father was a native of Shīrāz, his nisba was ash-Shīrāzī. He began the study of traditions quite early in his youth under al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3), az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) and Ibn-Furak ( III. T. 1 ), and later under al-Ḥirī ( III. S. 6 ), aṣ-Ṣayrafī, Abū-Zakariyyā al-Muzakkī and others. Al-Fārisī mentioned that ash-Shīrāzī learned Arabic literature, especially tales and poetry, but none of his teachers are specified by al-Fārisī. He became a mystic and was a disciple of Abū-’l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He was also famed as a man of letters, a poet, a reliable traditionist and a good teacher. He dictated traditions in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur and also gave private lessons. Many scholars studied under him, among whom was his biographer ‘Abd-al-Ghafir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ), the author of the Siyāq. He died in Nishapur in 1085 and was buried in the graveyard of ash-Shāhanbar.<sup>1</sup>

## V.13      Fāṭima bint-ad-Daqqāq

Her name was Fāṭima bint-al-Ḥusayn ibn-‘Alī and she was the daughter of the famous mystic Abū-‘Alī ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ) and the wife of the latter's disciple, Abū-’l-Qāsim

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1. Siyāq., ff.33a-b.

al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). She was born in Nishapur in 1000-01 which was the same year that the Mubāraka madrasa was built. During her youth, she was instructed in the mystic discipline by her father. Then she learned traditions from Abū-Nu‘aym al-Isfarā’inī ( III. Q. 2 ), al-Ḥākim Abū-‘Abd-Allāh ( III. Q. 3 ), Abū-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī ( III. V. 2 ) and others. Probably after her marriage to al-Qushayrī she heard traditions from the second ṭabaqa, such as Ibn-Bākuwayhi ( III. V. 3 ). It is reported that she taught traditions and held dhikr assembly in Nishapur. Some of the learned men in that city extracted sound traditions from her lectures.

Fāṭima lived for about 90 years. She brought up six sons and six daughters. Some of her sons became renowned scholars in Nishapur. She died in that city in the year 1087.<sup>1</sup>

#### V.14 Abū-Bakr al-Māwardī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Aḥmad. He had delivered traditions on the authority of the Ḥanafite professor Abū-‘l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id ( III. R. 6 ). Abū-Bakr was a mystic from the Ḥanafite sect but, according to al-Fārisī, he was also acquainted with the Shāfi‘ites, among whom was the leading Shāfi‘ite mystic Abū-‘l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). Abū-Bakr died in 1088.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyaq., ff.123b-124a; Shadh., III, 365.

2. Siyaq., f.18a; Jaw., II, 76.

## V.15 Abū-Ṣāliḥ aṣ-Ṣūfī

His name was Muḥammad Ibn-Abī-Ṣāliḥ. He was a native of Nishapur and learned traditions from Sa'd al-Kanjarūdhi (III.X.13). After reading and studying parts of Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ (I. A. 28) under Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī (III.Q. 52), he took up the practice of mysticism and became the disciple of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He made many journeys to the West and in each journey he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca. He died in 1088 and was buried in al-Ḥīra graveyard in Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

## V.16 Abū-'Amr as-Sulamī

His name was 'Abd-al-Wahhāb ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Sulaymān. He was a native of Nishapur and the son-in-law of the famous master Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He learned the path of mysticism from Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 1 ). Then he became associated with Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī and married the latter's daughter. He later went on a pilgrimage to Mecca with his father-in-law and during this travel he heard traditions in Ḥijāz, Kūfa and Baghdād. But most of his knowledge of traditions was derived from his studies on that subject in Nishapur under as-Ṣayrafī, al-Iṣbahānī, az-Ziyādī ( III. Q. 6 ) and under some of the disciples of al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ). Abū-'Amr died in 1089.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyaq., f.19b.

2. ibid., f.104a.

## V.17 Abū-Manṣūr al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). Abū-Manṣūr was born in 1034. He learned traditions from his father and from Ibn-Bākūwayhi ( III. V. 3 ), Abū-Sa'īd an-Nūqānī and others. He also wrote down many works among which was the book Ḥilyat al-awliyā' by Abū-Nu'aym al-Iṣbahānī. He also learned traditions during his travels to Marw, Sarakhs, Rayy and Ḥamadān. Having made the pilgrimage to Mecca, he came to Baghdad in the year 1078 and taught traditions in that city. He then returned to his birthplace Nishapur and resided there till the death of his mother which occurred in the year 1087. Then he set out for a second attempt to make a pilgrimage to Mecca via Baghdad. He came to Mecca and dwelt there till his death in 1089.<sup>1</sup>

## V.18 Amat-ar-Raḥīm

Her name was Karīma bint-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. She was the daughter of the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). Karīma was born in 1030 in Nishapur and learned mysticism from her mother Fāṭima ( III. V. 13 ), from her father and also from other members of her

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1. Subk., III, 223; Siyāq., ff.92a-b.

family. Her most important teacher was her father from whom she learned traditions and the Musnad of al-Ḥasan ibn-Sufyān. She died in Nishapur in 1093. Karīma was a pious woman, well-acquainted with the path of mysticism which was adopted by her family.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.126b.

THE READERS AND COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN  
ATH-THA'LABĪ AND AL-WAHIDĪ

Four commentators on the Qur'ān were active in Nishapur during the eleventh century; ath-Tha'labī (III. W. 2 ), al-Wahidī ( III. W. 6 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir ( III.W.8 ) and Ibn-Abī-'t-Ṭayyib ( III. W. 5 ).

Ath-Tha'labī was described by Ibn-Khallikān as surpassing all others in his interpretations and expositions of the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup> His main work al-Kashf wa'l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān is reputed to be one of the most useful interpretations because in it he has gathered together and used intelligently over one hundred sources in addition to aṭ-Ṭabarī and it is therefore almost double the size of al-Bayḍawī.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Wahidī, a pupil of ath-Th'labī and of al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ) was also renowned as an authority and a commentator on the Qur'ān. Huart observes that he was a descendent of ~~one~~ Mattan, whose name, Matthew, indicates his origins from a Christian Armenian family. Al-Wahidī's most important work was the Asbāb an-nuzūl, dealing with the occasions on which the sūras and verses of the Qur'ān were revealed.<sup>3</sup> He also composed two similar interpretations, the Wajīz and the Wasīṭ. A pupil of his, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir, became a professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur.<sup>4</sup>

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1: I Kh., I, 26.

2. Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "al-Tha'labī".

3. A L , 260; see below, (List No.I.E), 623.

4. See below, (List No.2), 628.



The fourth commentator, Ibn-Abī-'t-Ṭayyib ( III. W. 5), was a contemporary of ath-Tha'labī and came from a quarter in Bayhaq called Zabzawār. A madrasa was built for him in Isfarā'īn and he was appointed its professor. His reputation attracted the Sultan Maḥmūd who summoned him to Ghazna to deliver a religious address. This address, according to Yāqūt, is quoted in full in his main interpretation at-Tafsīr al-kabīr, and as a result of it, he was favoured by Maḥmūd with honour and wealth.<sup>1</sup>

The most distinguished reader of the Qur'ān at this time in Nishapur was Abū-Sa'd ash-Shāmātī (III.W.4), who had been a pupil of Abū-Bakr ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ), the author of al-Ghāya fi'l-qirā'āt. After studying both the Qur'ān and traditions, he became professor at the Mushshuṭīyya madrasa and for a time acted as deputy ra'īs of Nishapur. Among the students who read under him was one Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Khabbāzī ( III. W. 3 ), a 'baker' from Nishapur and a pupil of the famous master, Marw Abū-'l-Haytham al-Kushmīhānī. It is also reported by al-Fārisī that most of the a'yān of Nishapur attended his classes. At the request of the Sultan Maḥmūd, he read the Qur'ān at the court of the Sultan in Ghazna.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., V, 232; I Fun., 185; see below, (List No.2), 627.

2. Siyāq., f.10a; see below, (Lists Nos. I.E.II), 623, 627. —

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN (1000-1100)

W.1 Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naḥwī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur and became a distinguished master in various branches of Islamic knowledge, including the interpretation of the Qur'ān, grammar, literature, history and biographies. He was a teacher in Nishapur and one of his pupils was Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī ( III. W. 2 ). As-Suyūṭī credits him with spreading his knowledge throughout Nishapur. It is mentioned that he was at first a follower of the Karrāmites but he later became converted to Ḥanafism. He died in 1015.<sup>1</sup>

W.2 Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur and a famous theologian and particularly famous as commentator of the Qur'ān. He was born in 961. He learned traditions from Abū-Ṭāhir Ibn-Khuzayma, Abū-Muḥammad al-Mukhalladī and Abū-Bakr al-Mukhalladī. He died in 1038 in Nishapur.

Ath-Tha'labī was a writer and two of his works still exist. His great work was an interpretation on the Qur'ān entitled al-Kashf wa'l-bayān 'an tafsīr al-Qur'ān. Also famous was his second work 'Arā'is al-majālis fī qisāṣ al-anbiyā',

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1. Bughyat, 227.

which was a supplement to his interpretation al-Kashf. This work is described by Brockelmann as a book that gives all the stories in very great detail but keeps on the whole clear of the worst feats of imagination of the qiṣaṣ, such as we find in al-Kaṣā'ī.<sup>1</sup>

### W.3      Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Khabbāzī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur and began life as a baker. Hence his nisba of al-Khabbāzī. He read the Qur'ān at Marw under Abū-'l-Haytham al-Kushmīhanī (d. 998). He then held classes where he read the Qur'ān in his mosque which was situated in the street of Mu'adh ibn-Mu'āwiya in Nishapur. His classes were attended by the leading scholars and notables. He later left and went to Ghazna where he was a guest of the Ghaznavid Sultan Maḥmūd and where he read the Qur'ān. He died in Nishapur in 1057 and was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥira.

Al-Khabbāzī was a distinguished master of the science of the Qur'ān and was held in high esteem as a reader of the Qur'ān. It is mentioned by al-Fārisī that al-Khabbāzī wrote a book dealing with the principles of reading and included

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1. Bughyat., 154; Siyāq., ff. 26a-b; Subk, III, 23; Irsh., II, 104; T Q, I, 457; Miftah., I, 403; Sukh., 36, 38, 171-172; Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "al-Tha'labī"; G A L S, I, 592.

some tales concerning the various readings. The book was called al-Abṣār but it seems to be lost.<sup>1</sup>

W.4      Abū-Sa'd Ash-Shāmātī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Mūsā ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Manṣūr. He was born in a place called ash-Shāmāt in Nishapur. He became the student of Abū-Bakr ibn-Mihrān ( II. O. 4 ) who taught him from his book al-Ghāya fi'l qirā'at, and also taught him traditions. In Nishapur, he studied traditions under Abū-Ṭāhir ibn-Khuzayma, Abū-Bakr al-Jawzaqī ( II. I. 42 ), Abū-Bakr al-Mukhalladī and others. In 1049, he held his first classes in which he dictated traditions and he continued to do this at al-Mushshuṭiyya madrasa until his death in 1062. He was buried in the graveyard of al-Ḥusayn.

He was primarily noted as a reader of the Qur'ān but he was also considered to be a reliable traditionist and a good religious mediator between the rival sects. His excellent reputation induced the Seljūqs to appoint him as deputy ra'īs in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

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1. T. Q., II, 207; Siyāq., f.10a; Lub., I, 341; Ans., f.187a.

2. Ibid., f.28b; T. Q., I, 36; M. B., III, 238.

## W.5 Ibn-Abī-'t-Tayyib

His name was 'Alī-ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was born in Nishapur and resided in the quarter of Zabzawār in Bayhaq. The first mention that we have of anything connected with him is that in 1019, a wealthy landowner named Abū-'l-Qāsim 'Alī-ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn honoured him by building for him a madrasa in Isfarā'in and became one of his many disciples. In 1023, he was invited to the court of the Sultan Maḥmūd at Ghazna where he delivered a lecture on the interpretation of the Qur'an. This lecture is believed to be included in his book the Tafsīr al-kabīr. He died in Nishapur in 1066 and was buried in Zabzawār graveyard.

Ibn-Abī-'t-Tayyib's reputation as a commentator of the Qur'an was very extensive and during his lifetime it was claimed that he had written three books on his work of interpretation. These books were:-

1. At-Tafsīr al-kabīr in 30 volumes;
2. At-Tafsīr al-awsaṭ in 11 volumes;
3. At-Tafsīr aṣ-ṣaghīr in 3 volumes.

After his death, however, none of these books were found in his private library and in their place were four volumes on other subjects, one on jurisprudence, one of literature, and the remaining two on general history.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Irsh., V, 231-3; I Fun., 185-6.

## W.6 Al-Wāhidī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī ibn-Muttūya, his kunya Abū-'l-Ḥasan. He was a native of Nishapur. During his youth he studied under many masters. He studied grammar under the master Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Ibrāhīm aḍ-Ḍarīr under whom he wrote down 100 treatises concerning unsolved problems of grammar. Then he read the Qur'ān under 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad al-Bustī ( III. X. 3 ) and Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī ( III. X. 8 ). The next master was Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī ( III. W. 2 ) under whom he learned the science of Qur'ānic interpretation. The fame of al-Wāhidī's teaching became quite considerable. In Nishapur he made the acquaintance of the famous poet Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ) and acted for the latter as his substitute and was later appointed by him director of repetitions or under tutor. He died of a lingering disease in his native city in 1076.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Wāhidī was regarded as the first master of his time in the sciences of grammar and Interpretation of the Qur'ān. He was also an author. His works were considered by other masters as being excellent, and were frequently cited by professors in their lessons.

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1. Subk., III, 289-290; T. Q., I, 223; Siyāq., 114a; Miftāḥ., I, 402; Irsh., V, 97-98; Shadh., III, 330; Bakharzī, Dumyat al-qasr., 203; cf. AI 260.

The following are his main works which are extant:-

1. Asbāb an-nuzūl.
2. At-Tafsīr al-basīṭ.
3. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-wajīz.
4. Al-Wasīṭ bayna al-maqbūd wa'l basīṭ.
5. Jamī' al-bayān fī tafsīr al-Qur'ān.
6. Hirār al-ma'ānī.
7. Al-Ḥawī li-jam' al-ma'ānī.
8. Sharḥ al-Mutanabbī.<sup>1</sup>

#### W.7 Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Muqri'

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Isma'īl ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in 1022 and became a wealthy man in Nishapur. He learned traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī ( III. S. 6 ) and others and became well known as a reader of the Qur'ān in Nishapur. He was also associated with the Shāfi'ite sect for whom he built the Friday Mosque in the Ramjār quarter of Nishapur. He died in 1093.<sup>2</sup>

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1. G A L , I, 524; G A L S , I, 730.

2. Siyāq., f.119a.

## W.8      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Mufasssīr

His name was 'Alī ibn-Sahl ibn-al-'Abbās. He was the imām of the tafsīr. He studied the Qur'ān and philology under al-Wāḥidī (III.W.6). He became noted as a commentator of the Qur'ān. In 1072, he became professor in the Nizāmiyya madrasa of Nishapur and gave lectures on the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) and the Sunan of Abū-Dāwūd. He died in 1097.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 299; Bughyat., 338; Siyāq., f.116a.



## VI

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS

AL-JAWHARĪ, BADĪ'-AZ-ZAMĀN AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, ATH-THA'ALIBĪ,  
AL-BĀKHARZĪ, AL-WAHIDĪ, ABŪ-'L-FADL AL-BAGHAQĪ, AL-BAḤḤATHĪ,  
AZ-ZAWZANĪ, IBN-FADDĀL.

Literature and literary studies appear to have flourished during the 11th century. This was in part due to the encouragement given to these studies by the Ghaznavids and, under them, Ghazna became the centre of cultural activities in the Eastern Islamic empire. It is reported by Dawlatshāh that "there were over 400 poets in regular attendance on Maḥmūd's court, presided over by the Amīr-ash-Shu'arā' 'Unṣurī". The two great Persian scholars, Bīrūnī and Firdawsī, were both at one time connected with the court at Ghazna. Sultan Maḥmūd appears to have taken a more personal interest in literature, even to the extent of writing a book on the system of Ḥanafite jurisprudence. He knew Arabic well but he is said to have disliked the language, and his knowledge of Persian was good enough to enable him to work with his Persian advisers.<sup>1</sup>

Nishapur during this century retained its position as a focus of Islamic scholarship and learning in Khurasan. Some of the chief scholars who were active in the city, such as Ibn-Abī-'t-Ṭayyib ( III. W. 5 ) and al-Khabbāzī ( III. W. 3 ),

1. Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 50; Jaw., II, 157; Bos., 129, 130.

were presented at the Ghaznavid court. We have already seen how certain members of the most prominent families in Nishapur the Tabbānīs and the Mīkālīs, families which were equally prominent in the arts and in political and social activities, came to Ghazna and occupied the offices of qaḍā' and ri'āsa there.<sup>1</sup>

Early in the beginning of the 11th century two eminent men of letters who visited Nishapur died. They were al-Jawharī (III. X. 1 ) and Badi-'az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī ( III. X. 2 ). The former was a Turk from Fārāb. He was educated in Iraq, Ḥijāz and Syria. He settled in Nishapur, where he became a professor of literature. In this city he composed his famous lexicon aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ fi 'l-lugha. This book is arranged in alphabetical order of the final radical letter, which served as a model for later lexicographers.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary to al-Jawharī was Badi-'az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī, who was still a young man when he left his native city, Hamadān. He visited the cities of Rayy and Gurgān. Then he made his stay in Nishapur. Al-Hamadhānī established his fame by creating the most perfect form of literary presentation of the maqāmas, a kind of dramatic anecdotes in the telling of which the author subordinates substance to form and does his utmost to display his poetical ability, learning and eloquence.

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1. See above, 258-259, 266-268.

2. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 485; Aḥmad Amīn, Duḥā al-Islām, I, 274; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 402; A L, 157-8; L H P, II, 87-88.

While in Nishapur al-Hamadhanī wrote his maqāmas, in which he introduced us to a fictitious character called Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Iskandarī, and which consists of anecdotes about mendicants and other topics.<sup>1</sup>

Nishapur gave birth to one of the most elegant of Arabic writers, Abū-Manṣūr ath-Tha'ālibī ( III. X. 11 ), associated in Nishapur with Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Bākharzī, the father of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī ( III. X. 15 ). Ath-Tha'ālibī appears to have lived and died in Nishapur. He was renowned for his numerous articles and books on various subjects connected with Arabic literature, including poetry, an anthology on grammar, philology and light entertaining literature. His most important work, the often-cited Yatīmat ad-dahr fī-maḥāsin ahl al-'aṣr, is an anthology of the poetry of both his own and previous generations, arranged according to the countries of origin of the poets, and containing very short biographical notes on the poets represented. A number of works were written as addenda to this anthology, including one by ath-Tha'ālibī himself, which is called Tatimmat al-yatīma,<sup>2</sup> and another by his pupil, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī, entitled Dumyat al-qasr wa-'uṣrat ahl al-'aṣr. This latter anthology contains a chapter devoted to each of the following seven topics, the Bedouin poets, and the poets of Ḥijāz, Syria, Diyārbakr,

1. A L , 132-33; Nicholson, A literary history of the Arabs, 328-29; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 403; Gibb, Arabic literature, 102.

2. Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Tha'ālibī".

Adharbayjān, Jazīra and Maghrib. It also contains a section on the poets of Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Khallikān describes Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī as being "the pearl of his age in genius and talent" and as being the foremost in both poetry and prose composition. His collection of poetry have been lost. There are, however, a few of his poems in the appendix to his Dumyat and a selection of his poetry entitled al-Aṣḥān is still in existence. Margoliouth considers that the opinions of the critics of al-Bākharzī's time and of Ibn-Khallikān in particular are too flattering and he himself would describe al-Bākharzī's poetry as being only mediocre and artificial. According to Margoliouth, al-Bākharzī's most famous work is on a more prosaic level, a letter of solace from him to the Seljūq Vizier, Abū-Naṣr al-Kundurī, on the subject of castration.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī (III.W.6 ), who was mentioned as a commentator of the Qur'ān, and who was a pupil of ath-Tha'labī ( III. W. 2 ) and Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ), was also renowned as a man of literature for his eloquence and his calligraphy. His main work was an explanation of al-Mutanabbī's poetry, the Sharḥ al-Mutanabbī, a piece of writing which as a work of criticism surpassed that of his predecessors.<sup>3</sup>

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1. A L , 106; see below, (List No.I.F), 625.

2. I Kh., I, 455; Margoliouth, E I<sup>2</sup>, "al-Bākharzī".

3. A L , 260; see below, (List No.I.E), 623.

Bayhaq produced in this field the most famous Persian historian and man of letters of his time, Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī ( III. X. 16 ) who studied in Nishapur and joined the chancellery of the Ghaznavid rulers at Ghazna, with the function of secretary, and in this city he spent most of his life. He was the author of over 30 volumes of the history of the Ghaznavid dynasty, but at least 25 volumes of his great work have been lost except the part dealing with Mas'ūd rule, and even that is not complete. The part we possess is usually known as Ta'riḫ-i-Bayhaqī but it ought rather to be called, Ta'riḫ-i-Mas'ūdī.<sup>1</sup>

From the city of Zawzan, Yāqūt mentions al-Baḥḥāthī ( III. X. 14 ) as a renowned man of letters and a brilliant professor. He was certainly celebrated for his elegant calligraphy and appears to have spent most of his life in Nishapur. A pupil of his, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Zawzanī (III. X. 23 ), was also famous as a literary character and was well-known for his activity in discussions. One of his known series of discussions lasted for several years during which time he argued with the grammarian al-Kundurī over various problems connected with Arabic literature.<sup>2</sup>

From Maghrib came the grammarian, Ibn-Faḍḍāl ( III. X. 21 ), who lived for a time in Nishapur. At the request of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ), he wrote a book of grammar entitled al-Iksīr but this book is unfortunately lost, along

1. Said Naficy, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Bayhaqī". Bos., 10;

2. Irsh., II, 239-242, VI, 408-410; see below, (List No.I.F), 225.

with his other works on grammar and philology and his commentaries on the Qur'ān. Another famous grammarian was Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī ( III.X.25 ), who also came from Maghrib and who became the favourite companion of the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk. Due to his influence, he was appointed professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur and the famous mystic of Nishapur, al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ), is said to have studied grammar under him.<sup>1</sup>

Most of the scholars who have been mentioned in this section also wrote poetry but certain scholars were particularly noted as poets. Among those who could be mentioned in this connexion were Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Mikālī (III. X. 12 ), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fāriṣī (III. X. 8 ) and Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī (III. X. 3 ). This last was alleged to have been connected with the Karrāmīte sect in Nishapur.

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1. See below, (Lists Nos. I, F., II), 625, 628.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS (1000-1100)

## X.1 Al-Jawharī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Ḥammād. His kunya was Abū-Naṣr. He was a native of Fārāb in Turkestan. He belonged to a scholarly family: his maternal uncle Abū-Ya'qūb al-Fārābī, was a distinguished man of letters in Fārāb and the author of a collection of poems.

Al-Jawharī, after having studied under his uncle at Fārāb, proceeded to Baghdad, where he studied philology under Abū-'Alī al-Fārisī and Abū-Sa'd as-Sirāfī. To perfect his knowledge of the Arabic tongue, he travelled about Iraq, Ḥijāz and the Syrian Desert, then he returned eastward, and settled, in the first place, at Dāmghān, and then at Nishapur, where he became a professor of literature. He died about 1002, from the effects of a fall from the roof either of his own house or of that of the Ancient Mosque of Nishapur.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Jawharī was renowned as a philologist and grammarian. Among his most important writings is his book, aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ fi'l-lughā, which is a lexicographical work, written in Arabic, and still extant. Aḥmad Amīn describes him as the creator of the first systematic Arabic lexicon.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Jawharī himself drew up about one half of the book; the rest was completed by one of his students, Abū-Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibn-Ṣāliḥ al-Warrāq, who allowed a few errors to creep

1. Irsh, II, 266-273; Bākhārzi, Dumyat al-qasr., 300; Tha'alibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., 406; Miftāḥ., I, 69; Ibn-al-Anbārī Nuzhat al-albāb., 236-238; cf. A L , 157-8.

2. Aḥmad Amīn, Ḍuḥā al-Islām., I, 273; Hitti, History of the Arabs, 402; Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 485.

in. The book was translated into Persian by Abū-'l-Faḍl Jamāl-ad-Dīn al-Qurashī (d. 1231).<sup>1</sup>

## X.2 Badi'-az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Yaḥya ibn-Sa'id. He received the kunya of Abū-'l-Faḍl, but he was better known by his laqab Badi'-az-Zamān. He was born in Hamadhān where he studied Arabic literature under Abū-'l-Ḥasan ibn-al-Fāris. In 990 he left Hamadhān and stayed for a time at the court of the Vizier Ibn-'Abbād (d.995) in Rayy. This court appears to have been an attraction for the intellectuals of his time and it was there that al-Hamadhānī widened his knowledge of Arabic literature. He next journeyed to Gurgān where he became associated with the Ismā'ilites and made the acquaintance of the ra'īs of the city Abū-Sa'id Muḥammad ibn-Manṣūr. It was the ra'īs who helped him finance his journey to Nishapur in 992.<sup>2</sup>

It was during his stay in Nishapur that, according to ath-Tha'alībī, he began writing prose works, the maqāmas. It was also while he was in Nishapur that he met the famous poet Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ), whom he challenged to a competition in Arabic literature at which al-Hamadhānī was

1. L H P , II, 487; A L , 158; G A L , I, 133; G A L S , I, 196-7.

2. Irsh., I, 94-5; Tha'ilībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 256-7.



acclaimed the victor. Al-Khwārizmī died in 993 and soon afterwards Hamadhānī's fame spread throughout the eastern parts of the Islamic empire.<sup>1</sup>

He was invited to visit most of the cities in the province of Khurasan and Sijistān. After these visits had been made, he settled in Herat, where he made the acquaintance of the scholar Abū-'Alī-al-Khushnāmī and asked for the hand of his daughter in marriage. He died of poisoning in Herat at the age of 40 in 1008. He was actually buried prematurely, while he lay in a state of lethargy. His screams were heard in the night, and the tomb was opened, but he was found to have died of terror, with his hand clutching his beard.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Hamadhānī was a man of letters and wrote in both prose and poetry. Among his prose works, his maqāmas, collected in one volume and it is called Maqamāt Badī'-az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī. Al-Hamadhānī's work served as a model for al-Ḥarīrī of al-Baṣra, whose Maqāmāt for more than seven centuries were esteemed as the chief treasure, next to the Qur'ān, of the literary Arabic tongue. Al-Hamadhānī also wrote several letters which are still extant, some of which were addressed to his erstwhile opponent al-Khwārizmī. With regards to his poetry, ath-Tha'alībī noted that he produced

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1. Tha'alībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 257-58; Irsh., I, 95-97.

2. I Kh., I, 48; Irsh., I, 97; Shadh., III, 150-151.

some beautiful poems by combining Persian with Arabic verses.<sup>1</sup>

### X.3 Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Muḥammad (or ibn-Aḥmad) ibn-al-Ḥusayn (or ibn-al-Ḥasan) ibn-Yūsuf ibn-'Abd-al-'Azīz. He was born in Bust in 971. In his youth, he acted as secretary to <sup>Batyūr</sup> Batyūr, the governor of Bust, and passed into the service of the Sāmānid general Sebūktigīn, father of the celebrated Sultan Maḥmūd the Ghaznavid, when he defeated Batyūr. Afterwards he passed into the service of the Sultan Maḥmūd, but finally he died at Bukhārā in exile in 1009. Al-Bustī is reported to have made several visits to Nishapur. In one of his visits he taught traditions to eminent scholars of the city, amongst whom were al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī ( III. Q. 3 ) and Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ).<sup>2</sup>

Al-Bustī was a poet and a man of letters. An extract from his Diwān is still extant. His most famous poem known as Qaṣīdat al-Bustī, on which several commentaries have been written. As-Subkī criticizes his poetry because it contained

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1. Tha'ālībī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 57; selections of his letters addressed to his opponent al-Khwārizmī are given by Yāqūt, Irsh., I, 97-117; cf. Hitti, History of the Arabs, 402; Blachere, E I<sup>2</sup>, "al-Hamadḥānī"; A L, 132-33; Nicholson, A literary history of the Arabs, 328-29; Gibb, Arabic Literature, 102; L H P, II, 112, 113; G A L S, I, 150.
  2. 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 64-65; Subk., IV, 4; Bākhārzi, Dumyat al-qasr., 224; Tha'ālībī, op.cit., IV, 302-334; Shadh., III, 159-60.

some references to the drinking of wine and to his Karrāmīte attachment; however, he also wrote prose works in favour of Shāfi'ism.<sup>1</sup>

#### X.4 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Harawī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ādam ibn-Kamāl. He was a native of Herat and studied grammar in Nishapur under the tuition of Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ). Then he studied jurisprudence under the Ḥanafite professor Abū-'l-Haytham 'Utba ( III. R. 2 ) and he continued this study under Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ). However, he became noted not as a jurist but as a grammarian and a man of letters. He professed for some years in Nishapur and died in 1023. Al-Harawī composed many works on Arabic literature and as-Suyūṭī mentions the following list of al-Harawī's works:

1. Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa, which is a commentary of the Diwān al-ḥamāsa by the famous Arabian poet Abū-Tammām (I.H.1).
2. Sharḥ diwān al-Mutanabbī.
3. Amthāl Abū-'Ubayd.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Most of his letters and poetry were composed in Arabic, but according to 'Awfī, al-Bustī also wrote verses in Persian, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 64. cf. A L., 105; L H P, II, 98-99; GAL, I, 291; GALS, I, 445.
  2. Irsh., VI, 267; Siyāq., f.12b; Bughyat., 4; wafī, I.333.

## X.5 Abū-'l-Faḍl aṣ-Ṣaffār

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 945 and probably followed the trade of a copper-smith. He studied traditions under Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Aṣamm ( II. I. 28 ), Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Muzakkī and others of the same generation. He became a noted teacher of literature and many students such as Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad al-Wāḥidī ( III.W.6 ) and al-Ḥuskānī ( III. Q. 71 ) are known to have studied under him. The latter read some literary work under him in 1025. Aṣ-Ṣaffār died in 1025-26.<sup>1</sup>

## X.6 Ibn-al-Ashrus

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-'l-Faṭḥ. He was a native of Nishapur and one of the disciples of the famous poet, Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī ( II. P. 5 ). Later, he moved to Baghdad where he stayed until his death in 1026. He was known as a poet and a grammarian and some excerpts from his poems are mentioned by al-Bākhārī and Yāqūt.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.24b.

2. Bākhārī, Dumyāt al-qasr., 304; Irsh., VI, 226-28; Bughyat., 17.

## X.7      Abū-Sahl an-Nīlī

His name was Sa'īd ibn-'Abd-al-'Aziz ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was born in Nishapur in 967, his nisba an-Nīlī derived from his trading with indigo-dye which was very popular at this time in Nishapur. He was the brother of the master, Abū-'Abd-ar-Rahmān an-Nīlī, and studied traditions under Abū-Sa'īd ar-Rāzī, Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ) and Abū-Aḥmad Ḥakīm ( II. I. 43 ). Traditions were delivered on his authority by Aḥmad ibn-'Alī al-Ma'arri. He died in 1029.

He was primarily renowned as a poet, man of letters, grammarian and physician, but there is not much information indicating from whom he studied these subjects and none of his writings have survived. As a traditionist, he was regarded as reliable.<sup>1</sup>

## X.8      Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Fārs and was known to have studied Arabic literature in his youth under his maternal uncle, Abū-'Alī al-Fārisī. He became well-known at Rayy at the court of Ibn-'Abbād (d. 995) who was his patron and favoured him with wealth and honour. Reference is made to his frequent

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1. Siyāq., f.68a; Lub., III, 252-3; see the nisba "an-Nīlī", —  
Lub., III, 222-223.

visits to Nishapur where he gave lectures on literature and grammar. He was one of the many scholars who became Ghaznavid officials and he was appointed by the Sultan Ismā'īl (reg.997-998) to be his Vizier at Ghazna, a post which he retained for some time before he relinquished it to go to Mecca where he stayed as mujāwir. He later returned to Ghazna, Nishapur and Isfara'in, but eventually took up residence in Gurgān where he died in 1030 after giving lessons in literature for a time to the scholars of that city, among whom was 'Abd-al-Qāhir al-Jurjānī.

Abū-'l-Ḥusayn was known as a grammarian as well as a poet and it is mentioned by Yāqūt that the Vizier Ibn-'Abbād possessed some of his books and some of his letters, among which was a book of hajw and others on poetry.<sup>1</sup>

#### X.9 Ibn-Dawast

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-Sa'id. He was born in 967 in Nishapur and became better known by his appellation of Ibn-Dawast. Under Abū-Bakr aṭ-Ṭarā'ifī, he studied some collections of poetry and he also learned traditions from Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ) and others. He acquired a reputation as a man of letters and as the most knowledgeable scholar in the field of literature at his time.

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1. Irsh., VII, I. Tha'alibī, Yatīmat ad-dahr., IV, 385-388; Miftāḥ., I, 142.

He also wrote several works on the various branches of Islamic studies but none of these works have survived. As regards the disciplines of traditions and jurisprudence, he was known as a reliable traditionist and a Ḥanafite jurist. He died in 1031.<sup>1</sup>

#### X.10 Abū-Mas'ūd al-Khushnāmī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Uthmān ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Khushnām. He was a native of Nishapur. He attended the lectures of the Nishapurian master Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ) from whom he probably learnt jurisprudence and the practice of mysticism. He also received traditions in Nishapur from Abū-Bakr al-Ḥīrī ( III. S. 6 ), Abū-Sa'īd Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( III. Q. 24 ) and others.

He was distinguished, however, not for his religious learning but as a man of letters and as a poet. He died in Nishapur in 1037, and was buried in al-Ḥīra's graveyard.<sup>2</sup>

#### X.11 Ath-Tha'alībī

His name was 'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'il. He received the kunya of Abū-Manṣūr. He was born in Nishapur in 961 and became one of the most distinguished scholars of the eleventh century. Al-Bakharzī calls him "the Jāhiz of

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1. Jaw., I, 309; Siyāq., f.90a.

2. Ibid., ff.29b-30a.

Nishapur" and he is known to have lived in the quarter adjoining that of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Bākharzī the father of the famous scholars Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākharzī ( III. X. 15 ). Books on poetry and ikhwāniyyāt were passed between the two scholars and on the death of Abū-'l-Qāsim, he took charge of the upbringing and education of his son Abū-'l-Ḥasan. Nothing else is known of his life except that he died in 1038.<sup>1</sup>

Ath-Tha'ālibī was a voluminous writer. The following is a list of his books which are extant:-

1. Yatīmat ad-dahr fī maḥāsin ahl al-'aṣr.
2. Tatimmat al-yatīma (or Dhayl)
3. Aḥsan mā sami'tu.
4. Al-Khaṣṣ.
5. Al-Muntaḥal.
6. Ṭarā'if at-ṭuraf.
7. Laṭa'if al-ma'ārif.
8. Al-Farā'id wa 'l-qalā'id.
9. Al-Mubhiḥ.
10. Al-Laṭā'if wa 'l-ṣarā'if.
11. Yawāqīt al-mawāqīt fī madḥ ash-shay' wa-dhammih.
12. Ghurār al-balāgha wa ṭuraf al-barā'a.
13. at-Tamaththul wa 'l-muḥādara.

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1. Bākharzī, Dumyat al-qasr., 183-5; I Kh., I, 365-366; Shadh., III, 246-7; Miftāḥ., I, 213.



14. Aḥāsīn kalīm an-nabī wa 's-saḥāba wa 'l-tābi'in  
wa 'l-mulūk al-Jāhiliyya wa 'l-mulūk al-Islām wa 'l-  
wuzarā' wa 'l-kuttāb wa 'l-bulaghā' wa 'l-ḥukamā'  
wa 'l-'ulamā'.
15. Mu'nis al-walīd.
16. Shams al-adab fī isti'māl al-'Arab (or Majārī kalām  
al-adab bi-rusūmiḥā wa mā-yata'alaqu bi'l-naḥw wa-'l-  
i'rāb minḥā wa 'l-istinshād bi'l-Qur'an 'alā akthariḥā)
17. Al-Kifāya fī'l-kināya.
18. Siḥr al-balāgha wa sirr al-barā'a.
19. Man jāba 'anhu'l-muṭrib.
20. Mir'āt al-murūwāt wa a'māl al-ḥasanāt.
21. Al-Maḥāsīn wa 'l-aḍḍād.
22. Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara wa 'unwān al-mudhākara wa-maydān  
al-musāmara.
23. Tuḥfat al-wuzarā'.
24. Al-Mutashābih.
25. Durar al-ḥikam.
26. As-Shakwā wa'l-'itāb wamā waqa'a bi'l-khulān wa'l-aṣḥāb.
27. Ma'rifat ar-rutab fīmā warada min kalām al-'Arab.
28. Al-Ādāb.
29. Lubāb al-ādāb.
30. Al-'Ashra al-ma'thūra.
31. Sīrat al-mulūk.
32. Bard al-akbād fī'l-a'dād.

33. Kitāb al-Ajnās wa't-Tajnīs.

34. Thimār al-qulūb fi'l-muḍāf wa 'l-manṣūb, (This book was dedicated to the Mīkāli prince Abū-'l-Faḍl 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ( III. X. 12 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### X.12 Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Mīkāli

His name was 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Mīkāli. His family was noted for its scholarship and Abū-'l-Faḍl himself became a scholar. He learned traditions in Nishapur under Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim (II. I. 43 ) and Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), in Bukhārā under Abū-Bakr al-Bukhārī and in Mecca under Abū-'l-Ḥusayn ibn-Zurayq. In 1030, he started an assembly in Nishapur where he dictated traditions and many of the notable men of that city attended his dictations and copied his lectures. He continued teaching and dictating in this assembly until his death in 1044-45.

Abū-'l-Faḍl is regarded by Fārisī mainly as a scholar of traditions and he omits to mention al-Kutubī's opinion that he was primarily a literary figure and a poet.

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1. Brockelmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Tha'alibī"; GAI, I, 337-340;  
GALS, I, 499-502.

According to al-Kutubī, most of the works written by Abū-'l-Faḍl were on Arabic literature and poetry, and he names the following works:-

1. Al-Muntaḥal.
2. Makhzūn al-balāgha.
3. Mulaḥ al-khawāṭir wa mulaḥ al-jawāhir.

But these works no longer exist.<sup>1</sup>

### X.13 Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in a village of Nishapur called Kanjarūdhi, hence his nisba al-Kanjarudhi. He studied Arabic literature and grammar at Baghdad but the names of his masters are not mentioned by his biographers. However the names of various of the masters under whom he studied traditions are mentioned by al-Fārisī, such as Abū-'Amr ibn-Ḥamdān ( II. I. 40 ), Abū-Aḥmad at-Tamīmī, Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥākim ( II. I. 43 ), Abū-Sa'd ar-Rāzī and Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Abdawī. His reputation was established by his ability as a man of letters, a grammarian and a poet. It is reported that he presided over certain discussions with Abū-'l-Qāsim az-Zawzanī ( III. X. 23 ) concerning certain poems which resulted in a disagreement between the two scholars. He died in 1061.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyāq., f.86a; Kutubī; Fawāt al-wafayāt, 52; Bākhari, Dumyat al-qasr, 122-3; Tha'alibī, Yatimat ad-dahr, IV, 354.
  2. Siyāq., ff.10a-b; Lub., III, 53-54; Ans., f.488a; M B, IV, 308; specimens from his poems are given by ath-Tha'alibī in, Tatimmat al-yatima, II, 9-8.

## X.14 Al-Baḥḥāthī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq ibn-‘Alī. His kunya was Abū-Ja‘far. He was a native of Zawzan, but he resided in Nishapur at as-Sūrī's madrasa at the Gate of ‘Adhra. He began life as a book copier. The book al-Yatīma of ath-Tha‘ālibī (III. X. 11 ) was copied by him in five volumes which was sold for 30 Nishapurian dinars though it was valued at much more because of the quality and excellence of its calligraphy. He also made a copy of al-Khaṭṭābī's ( II. I. 44 ) collection of traditions entitled al-Gharīb which was the book which most influenced him in his development. It has already been mentioned that he read al-Gharīb under al-Ḥākim Abū-Sa‘d ibn-Dawast ( III. X. 9 ) and others. During the time of Yāqūt his copy of al-Gharīb was still extant as awqaf in the library of the Ancient Mosque in Nishapur. He died in 1070.

Al-Baḥḥāthī was renowned as a poet. He wrote poems mainly in the comic manner and the majority of these were satires on his fellow countrymen and it is believed that he even dared to satirise most of the notables in Nishapur with the exception of the Ḥanafite leader, Abū-‘l-‘Alā’ Ṣā‘id ( III. R. 6 ). Yāqūt and ath-Tha‘ālibī both mention certain portions of his satirical poetry<sup>1</sup> and Yāqūt also mentions, on the authority of al-Fārisī, that al-Baḥḥāthī

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1. Irsh., VI, 408-410; Subk., III, 207; Bākhārzi, Dumyat al-qasr., 274; wafī., II, 197-199 specimen of his poems are given by Yāqūt; Irsh., VI, 410-414; Tha‘ālibī, Tatimmat al-yatīma, II, 30-32.

wrote a commentary upon al-Buḥturī's poems but he regards this as unlikely because the only evidence of any such work is a commentary and abridgement of the poetry of Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri which he called 'Abath al-walīd.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-al-Athīr mentions that he composed a book entitled Naḥw al-qulūb. This book on grammar seems to be lost. Al-Baḥḥāthī also delivered traditions on the authority of Ibn-Ḥibbān ( II. K. 9 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Jawaynī ( III. V. 7 ) and Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ).<sup>2</sup>

#### X.15 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhari

His name was 'Alī ibn-Ḥasan ibn-'Alī Ibn-Abī-'t-Ṭayyib. He was an Arab poet and anthologist. He was a native of Bākhari which was a district in the outskirts of Nishapur. After obtaining a good education in his father's house, under ath-Tha'alībī, he studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence and attended with assiduity the lectures of Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ) in Nishapur. He also studied traditions in Sarakhs, Herat and Balkh. He made the acquaintance of Abū-Naṣr al-Kundurī. When the latter became a vizier to the Seljūq Sultan, Ṭughril-Beg, al-Kundurī took al-Bākhari to Baghdad as his secretary. Previously, he

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1. al-Fārisī quoted by Yāqūt, Irsh., VI, 409.

2. Lub., I, 99; see also as-Sam'ānī, Ans., f.66b.

had been for some time an official of Baṣra. Subsequently, he was admitted to the chancellery, and in the latter post, his life was described by Ibn-Khallikān as "a life in an alternation of riches and poverty, and (in which he) experienced surprising vicissitudes of fortune, in his travels and sojournings".

Al-Bākhari's last visit was to his native place Bākhari where he was murdered by a Turkish slave whilst engaged in a party of pleasure. The crime remained unpunished. His death took place in the year 1075.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Bākhari was known by his writings. His famous work is the Dumyat al-qasr wa 'uṣrat ahl al-ʿaṣr. He was also the author of a letter of 'solace' addressed to his associate al-Kundurī. His collection of Arabic poems is lost but a selection of his poems has reached us in a manuscript.<sup>2</sup>

#### X.16 Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Bayhaqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Kātib. He was born in 995 in the village of Ḥarithābād, in the district of Bayhaq. At an early age he went to study in Nishapur. He soon entered the chancellery Diwān ar-Rasā'il of the Ghaznavids at Ghazna, with the post of secretary, and in this

1. I Kh., I, 454-5; Irsh., V, 121-25; Subk., III, 299; Ans., f.57b; Lub., I, 83; Shadh., III, 327-28; 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 68; wafī., I, 340; Miftāḥ., I, 213. cf. A L., 106; Massé, Anthologie persane, 48.
2. Margoliouth, E I<sup>2</sup>, "al-Bākhari"; G A L, I, 292; G A L S., I, 446; al-Bākhari composed, beside his works in Arabic, Persian verses, see 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, I, 69-71.

city he spent most of his life. For 19 years he acted as assistant to the head of the chancellery, Abū-Naṣr Miškān, who died at the beginning of the year 1039. Abū-Naṣr was replaced by Abū-Sahl az-Zawzānī, with whom al-Bayhaqī was not always on good terms. In fact, he was dismissed from office, but he again entered the chancellery, this time as head, during the reign of 'Abd-ar-Rashīd (1049-51). However, he was again dismissed after a short time and was imprisoned under the pretext that he had not settled his wife's dowry. When the usurper Ṭughril-Birār occupied the throne in 1051, he imprisoned al-Bayhaqī in a fortress along with other courtiers held in custody. When he was released, he did not seek re-employment at court, but devoted himself to his literary works. He died in 1077.

Al-Bayhaqī was the author of a voluminous history of the Ghaznavid dynasty. He commenced his history with the year 1018-19 and it eventually ran into more than 30 volumes. All are now lost, except volumes 5 - 10, which were all written in 1058 and 1059 and are concerned with the reign of Mas'ūd up to October 1040. They are known as Ta'riḫ-i Bayhaqī or Ta'riḫ-i Mas'ūdī. Another work quoted by the author of Ta'riḫ-i Bayhaq, Ibn-Funduq ( IV. EE. 12) bore the title Rutbat al-kuttāb or Zīnat al-kuttāb which is lost.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I Fun., 175-178; Wafī., III, 20; Said Naficy, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Bayhaqī"; Barthold, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Baihaqī"; Storey, Persian literature, I, 353; Bos., 10; Massé, Anthologie persane., 96.

## X.17      Abū-‘Alī al-‘Uthmānī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-‘Abd-Allāh. It is said that he was the descendant of the Caliph ‘Uthmān which his nisba al-‘Uthmānī shows. Al-‘Uthmānī was a native of Nishapur where, during his youth he studied jurisprudence under al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ). Then, he removed to Busht where he emerged as a master of Arabic literature. He wrote many literary works; some were letters and some poetry, but none of his books are named by his biographers. His death occurred in Busht in 1077.<sup>1</sup>

## X.18      Abū-Yūsuf al-Kurdī

His name was Ya‘qūb ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur. His master was Ibn-Dawast ( III. X. 9 ) from whom he learned the principles of jurisprudence, but he was mainly noted as having a great knowledge of literature and philology and a great skill as a writer. He made the acquaintance of one of the famous men in Nishapur, Amīr Abū-‘l-Faḍl al-Mikālī ( III. X. 12 ). He also saw and met al-‘Amīd Abū-Bakr al-Qūhistānī. He taught the science of Arabic literature in Nishapur and many students finished their education under him. His death occurred in 1081.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., III, 139-140; Siyāq., f.54b.

2. Ibid., f.144b; Bughyat, 418.



## X.19 Abū-'l-Ḥusayn ash-Shāmātī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was a native of Nishapur and came from one of the four areas of that city called ash-Shāmāt. He acquired a reputation as a literary figure and as a writer. He wrote three treatises, on al-Mutanabbī's collection of poetry, on Abū-'ammām's (I.H.1) Dīwan al-ḥamāsa, and on the proverbs of Abū-'Ubayd, but they have been lost. He died in 1082.<sup>1</sup>

## X.20 Abū-Naṣr ar-Rāmishī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and was born in 1013. He began learning traditions from some of the acquaintances of al-Aṣamm (II.I.28) and then travelled to Iraq and Mecca. Later in his life, he was appointed as a professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa of Nishapur by the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk and there he taught poetry and literature. He died in 1086.

Ar-Rāmishī was a reader of the Qur'ān, a grammarian and a poet. He had some knowledge of the science of traditions. According to al-Fārisī, he was most celebrated as a poet and composed many poems. It is said that, it is possible that he met the famous Arabian poet, Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arri.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Siyaq., ff.84a-b.

2. Ibid., f.17a.; Bughyat., 101; wafī., I, 124-5; Ans., f.244b; Lub., III, 453.

## X.21 Ibn-Faḍḍāl

His name was 'Alī ibn-Faḍḍāl ibn-'Alī. He is mentioned as a descendant of the famous poet al-Farazdaq. He left his native town of Qayrawān in Maghrib and travelled widely in the East, visiting Iraq, Ghazna, where he stayed for some time and composed many works named after the notable men in that city, and, on his return from Ghazna, Nishapur. He is reported to have met in the latter city the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III. T. 9) who commissioned him to write a book on grammar which he did before he left the city and called it al-Iksīr. He returned to Iraq and joined the service of the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk but died shortly thereafter in 1086. Ibn-Faḍḍāl was renowned as a philologist, grammarian, commentator and poet. He was a voluminous writer on many different aspects of Islamic knowledge, including religion, history and literature. Yāqūt gives a list of some of the works which were written by him:-

1. Al-Burhān al-'amīd.
2. Nukat al-Qur'ān.
3. Al-Iksīr adh-dhahab.
4. Fuṣūl fī ma'rifat al-uṣūl.
5. Sharḥ anwā' al-i'rāb.
6. Al-Muqaddima fī-'l-naḥw.
7. Sharḥ ma'anī al-ḥurūf.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Irsh., V, 289-294.

## X.22 Al-Bayhaqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of the rustāq of Bayhaq but later went to Iṣṣpahan where he entered the service of the Vizier Tāj-al-Mulk. He died in 1092-93. Al-Bayhaqī was regarded as a poet and philosopher but he apparently had other interests, because Yāqūt mentions three of his books, the first being written under the title al-Taṣrīf al-mujadwal, the second being on grammar and the third on geometry.<sup>1</sup>

## X.23 Abū-'l-Qāsim az-Zawzanī

His name was As'ad ibn-'Alī ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Zawzan, but he dwelt in Nishapur. He attended the classes on literature given by Abū-Ja'far al-Baḥḥāthī ( III. X. 14). Then he made the acquaintance of the famous man of letters Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bākhari ( III. X. 15) and together they went to Iraq. He died in 1098. Abū-'l-Qāsim is regarded by most of his biographers as the greatest poet of his time in Khurasan. He is also regarded as a man of letters. Specimens of his poetry are given by Yāqūt and al-Bākhari.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., 335; I Fun., 233; Wafī., II, 75; according to al-Fārisī, al-Bayhaqī became Zāhirite during his visit to Hamadān and he also became associated with the Ḥanbalites, the Anṣāriyya of Herat; Siyāq., f.19a.

2. Ibid., f.48b; Irsh., II, 239-242.

## X.24 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Quhandizī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. He was a native of Nishapur and resided there in the citadel, quhandiz. He studied literature under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī ( III.W.6 ) and traditions under Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mustamlī. He acquired the reputation of being the most skilful grammarian of his time. It is also reported that he was a follower of the Karrāmite sect. He died in the later decades of the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

## X.25 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī

His name was Yūsuf ibn-'Alī. He was a native of Maghrib, a country in North Africa. His acquaintance with the Qur'ānic readings and grammar attracted the special notice of the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk who appointed him as professor in the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. He arrived in that city in the year 1065 where he became well-acquainted with the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ), under whom he studied jurisprudence, while, at the same time, his master al-Qushayrī learned from him some points of grammar. Al-Maghribī held his post as professor of the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur until his death in the later decades of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Bughyat., 346; Safadī, Nakt al-himyan, 215; Irsh., V, 329.

2. Bughyat., 423; Siyāq., ff.144b, 145a.; Safadī, op.cit., 314.

PART FOUR

THE SCHOLARS OF NISHAPUR WHO DIED BETWEEN  
1100 - 1225.

## I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTORY NOTESANJAR, AL-MU'AYYAD THE MAMLUK, THE KHWĀRIZM SHĀHS  
AND THE MONGOL INVASION.

We have already mentioned that Nishapur enjoyed a period of comparative peace and cultural development during the forty years prior to the death of the Sultan Malik-Shāh in 1092, when civil war broke out between different factions of the Seljūq family.<sup>1</sup>

That peace had been maintained for so long in Nishapur was due, to a large extent, to the friendly relations which existed between the various parties and sects within the city itself. Through the favouritism of the Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, towards the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites, the office of the ri'āsa had been given to the most influential family among the Shāfi'ites, the Juwaynīs. The head of this family was the famous theologian, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ), who was also the leader of the Shāfi'ites. His son, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 27 ) became ra'īs of Nishapur. While the Ḥanafites had thus been excluded from holding the office of the ra'īs, they retained, under their control, the legal position of qaḍā'. The Ḥanafites were still at this time under the leadership of the powerful

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1. See above, 273-274.

Ṣā'idī family and their head was Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ( IV. Z. 2 ) the great grandson of the famous Ḥanafite leader Qāḍī Abū-'l-'Alā' Ṣā'id ( III. R. 6 ). Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad was always on good terms with the Shāfi'ites.<sup>1</sup> The delicate balance between the various parties and sects in Nishapur, which had thus been carefully preserved by the good judgment of their leaders and the policy of the ra'īs, was to be ruptured by the outbreak of civil war between different branches of the Seljūq family. Until Sanjar was recognised as Sultan in 1118, the political life of Nishapur was largely influenced by the events of the civil war between the two opposing brothers, Barkiyāruq and Muḥammad.<sup>2</sup>

In 1094, Barkiyāruq gained the upper hand in the war and was recognised as Sultan over a large part of the Islamic empire. One of his first acts in Nishapur was to suspend the previous civil administration of that city by arresting the leading a'yān and scholars, among whom was the ra'īs, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī.<sup>3</sup> The following year, in 1095, for reasons which are not yet clear, riots broke out between the Karrāmītes on the one side, and the Shāfi'ites, led by Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī and supported by the Ḥanafites under the leadership of Abū-Sa'd

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1. See below, (List No.3), 633; Kāmil., X, 171; Jaw., II, 22, 182.

2. Zetterstéen gives in more detail the political side of Sanjar's career, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Sandjar".

3. Kāmil., X, 201.

Muḥammad, on the other side. Probably the riots were precipitated by the Karrāmites attempting to take advantage of the situation within Nishapur, when the previous administration had been discredited and the city had just successfully withstood a seige from a nameless private army, to improve their political position.<sup>1</sup> The fighting, however, ended with the death of the leader of the Shāfi'ites, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī, and the sacking of the Karrāmite madrasa. The Karrāmites were never to regain their political and religious standing in the city.<sup>2</sup>

In 1096, Barkiyāruq appointed his brother, Sanjar, as governor of Khurasan and Sanjar took the seat of his governorship, in Nishapur. During the early period of his governorship, he appears to have been able to re-establish peaceful relations between the various groups. As his first Vizier, he appointed the nephew of the great Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, 'Abd-ar-Razzāq aṭ-Ṭūsī ( IV, AA, 8 ), who was known and respected for his great ability as a Shāfi'ite jurist. His court in Nishapur was an attraction to great eminent scholars such as 'Umar al-Khayyām ( IV. EE. 3 ) and al-Ghazzāl ( IV. DD. 1 ). As well as being Vizier to Sanjar, 'Abd-ar-Razzāq retained his professorship at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup> On 'Abd-ar-Razzāq's retirement as Vizier, Sanjar appointed Fakhr-al-Mulk, the son of Niẓām-al-Mulk, to replace him.

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1. Kāmil., X, 171.

2. op.cit., loc.cit., I Fun, 268-9; cf. Bos., 189.

3. See below, (List No.2), 629.



Fakhr-al-Mulk was also a learned man and was responsible for enticing al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) to return to teach in the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur in 1096.<sup>1</sup>

During the latter period of his governorship, however, Sanjar alienated the sympathy and support of the citizens of Nishapur by his draconian measures and the penal impositions that he inflicted upon its inhabitants. This came about, not as a result of any internal disturbances, but from the pressure of outside events; In 1100 Barkiyāruq defeated Muḥammad and forced him to take refuge in Khurasan. Sanjar, who was Muḥammad's brother on his mother's side, switched his allegiance and proffered support to Muḥammad. In order to help him, according to Ibn-Jawzī, Sanjar, in 1101, imposed such heavy taxation upon the city that it was never really to recover the economic position which it had enjoyed throughout the previous century. All types of property, including hotels and public baths, which had never been subject to taxation before, were made dutiable. All classes of people were burdened with heavy personal taxation. On top of all this, a famine broke out and its intensity can be measured by the fact that some citizens were forced to eat human flesh to survive.<sup>2</sup>

In 1118, however, Sanjar succeeded Muḥammad as Sultan but he kept his court in Nishapur. While the city attempted to recover from the financial strains which had been inflicted upon it, Sanjar continued his previous policy, begun when he

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1. Subk., IV, 254; see below, 499.

2. Muntazam., IX, 123; see above, 19-18.

was governor of Khurasan, of appeasing internal strife between the Sunnite sects by patronising scholars of different persuasions. That Sanjar was a great patron of the scholars is attested to by the fact that every branch of Islamic learning was well represented at his court, and that he chose his officials and administrators from among the ablest of the scholars, particularly Shāfi'ites. Among the scholars who attended Sanjar's court and whom he favoured with an official position was Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Anṣārī (IV.BB.7) who was appointed an ambassador to foreign kingdoms.<sup>1</sup> Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī, who is better known as Ibn-Funduq (IV.EE.12), was also numbered as one of Sanjar's personal friends. He appears to have been a candidate for the viziership at one stage in his career. The confidence and trust which Sanjar reposed in him is illustrated by the fact that Ibn-Funduq appears to have assisted in forming diplomatic policy, since he reports, for example, the arrival of an envoy from the Georgian king, Demetrius, with a certain proposal which he answered.<sup>2</sup>

It is also apparent, though, that as well as favouring the Sunnite parties, Sanjar did not altogether neglect certain anti-Sunnite elements, since Ibn-al-Athīr reports that the Sultan once offered the Viziership to the 'Alīd's leader, the naqīb al-'Azīz ibn-Hibat-Allāh al-'Alawī, who declined his offer.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Al-Anṣārī acted also as a chief secretary of the department of the awqāf in Khurasan; Subk., IV, 318.

2. Irsh., 214; I Fun., 162; cf. Dunlop, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Bayhaqī"; Storey, Persian Literature, I, 353-4.

3. Kāmil., XI, 5.

In the year 1125, however, there appears to have been some trouble around Nishapur from marauding bands of Ismā'īlites, because Sanjar's Vizier, Abū-Naṣr al-Faḍl, is noted for having purged the outlying districts of Bayhaq and Turaythīth of Nishapur from the threat of the Ismā'īlite forces.<sup>1</sup>

Towards the close of Sanjar's rule as Sultan, Khurasan was attacked from one side by the Khwārizm and from the other by the Turkish hordes known as al-Ghuzz. In 1153, al-Ghuzz finally defeated the Seljūq army which was guarding Nishapur and entered the city. For thirty days, al-Ghuzz looted Nishapur. In two quarters alone, thirty thousand men were listed as having been slaughtered and this figure does not include the countless numbers of women and children who must have been put to the sword.<sup>2</sup> The most eminent scholars were either killed in the general slaughter, like the famous Shāfi'ite jurist, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ), the pupil of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), or else, like Ibn-Funduq ( IV. EE. 12 ) and as-Sakhtinī ( IV. AA. 23 ), were taken prisoner. Even Sanjar, after fleeing to Marw, was taken prisoner.

The death of Sanjar in 1157 marked the end of Seljūq rule in Khurasan. While the other cities of Khurasan were being sacked by al-Ghuzz, internal strife had once more broken out in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kāmil., X, 445.

2. Ibid., XI, 117-120.

3. Ibid., XI, 116.

For the first time in the history of Nishapur, the office of governor, ḥakim, was given to an anti-Sunnite person. How it was that the leader of the 'Alids, naqīb Abū-'l-Qasam Zayd ibn-al-Ḥasan al-Ḥusaynī, was appointed governor is not known, but he took the opportunity, which the power attendant upon the post had given him, to conduct a general persecution of the Sunni sects and in particular of the Shāfi'ites. The leader of the Shāfi'ites, at this time, was al-Mu'ayyad ibn-al-Ḥusayn al-Muwaffaqī, a descendant of that famous scholarly family of the Ṣu'lūkīs and a relation by marriage to the other famous Shāfi'ite family of the Juwaynīs.<sup>1</sup>

The re-awakening of long-standing enmities and the general deterioration in the relations between different groupings of the parties within Nishapur which must have accompanied the persecution of the Shāfi'ites by the governor would probably have led eventually to an internecine conflict even without any immediate cause. As it was, however, the spark was provided in 1159 by the refusal of al-Muwaffaqī, as leader of the Shāfi'ites, to hand over to the civic authorities a Shāfi'ite who had been accused of murder and against whom a warrant of arrest had been issued. Incensed by this open defiance of his authority, the 'Alid Abū-'l-Qāsim Zayd, the governor of Nishapur, assembled the troops, which assisted him in the administration of the city, and stormed the Shāfi'ite strongholds. Both the quarters of Mu'adh and of Bāgh-Zāhir were attacked and the family

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1. Kāmil., XI, 154; see above, 269, 272.

house of the Juwaynīs was ransacked. A number of Shāfi'ites were killed but al-Muwaffaqī escaped. From Tūs, Isfarā'in and Juwayn, he collected a vast private army and marched on Nishapur but his army was defeated by the forces gathered by the governor, and al-Muwaffaqī was again forced to flee to Tūs. As a result of this defeat, the governor banned the Shāfi'ites from both preaching and teaching their doctrines.<sup>1</sup>

The tragedy which this conflict represented to Nishapur lay not just in the number of lives which were lost in the fighting but also in the wholesale destruction of some of the most important centres of learning in the city. It was estimated that as a result of these riots seven Shāfi'ite and eight Ḥanafite madrasas were completely destroyed. Five public libraries were burned and seven other libraries were looted. It is also reported that the ancient mosque of 'Aqīl, in which Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III.T.9) and al-Fārisī (IV.Y.8) had taught for a time, had been pillaged and destroyed by the governor's forces.<sup>2</sup>

For several months, the Sunnite sects lived under the persecution of the 'Alid administration. They were rescued, eventually, not by the strength of their own numbers but by the arrival in the city, in the latter half of 1159, of a new governor of Khurasan, al-Mu'ayyad.<sup>3</sup> This

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1. Kāmil., XI, 155.

2. Ibid., XI, 179.

3. Ibid., XI, loc.cit.

al-Mu'ayyad had been a mamluk of the Sultan Sanjar and a commander of the Seljūq army. After the death of the Sultan in 1157, he continued to fight al-Ghuzz and had succeeded at last in driving them out of the whole of Khurasan. This done, he promptly proclaimed himself the new governor of Khurasan and took the city of Nishapur as his capital. As the ancient city of Nishapur had been destroyed by the al-Ghuzz, he moved the citizens into the district known as ash-Shādhyakh, which he enlarged and fortified.<sup>1</sup>

For about three years, from the latter half of 1159 to the end of 1161, Nishapur enjoyed a brief interlude of peace under al-Mu'ayyad's rule. The new governor made a start in promoting the economic recovery of the city by reducing the high level of taxation, encouraging the execution of public works and buildings and by removing from the offices of the civic administration those who took bribes or embezzled public money or who were felt to constitute a danger to the security of his rule. Early in 1160, al-Mu'ayyad arrested the 'Alid Abū-'l-Qāsim Zayd, along with other civic officials, on charges of conspiracy and embezzlement. The Shāfi'ites and other Sunnites had their freedom and privileges restored to them. Normal life began once again in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

In 1161, al-Mu'ayyad's rule began to weaken from the attacks which were levied on Khurasan by outside forces, and,

1. Kāmil, XI, 121, 171; M B, IV, 858; cf. Honigmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Nīshāpūr"; see above, 13.

2. Kāmil., XI, 121, 179.

soon afterwards, it collapsed. This time it was the Khwārizm army under Shāh Takash which invaded Nishapur, in 1172.<sup>1</sup> From that time until the second decade of the thirteenth century, Nishapur became the scene of political struggles amongst the Khwārizm Shāhs and a succession of endlessly warring Shāhs took control of the city. Shāh Takash gave the city to his brother Tughān-Shāh who governed from 1174 to 1185. Tughān-Shah's son, Sanjar-Shāh succeeded to the governorship and ruled from 1185 to 1187. The city was recaptured by Shāh Takash in 1187 and this time he gave it to his eldest son, Malik-Shāh. In 1193, Malik-Shāh relinquished the city to his brother, Qutb-ad-Dīn Muḥammad, when he received Marw. Malik-Shāh was to die four years later, in 1197, in the neighbourhood of Nishapur, presumably when he was attempting to recover the city. Finally, 'Alā'-ad-Dīn Muḥammad in 1202, captured both Nishapur and Marw from Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn and his brother Shihāb-ad-Dīn.<sup>2</sup>

In addition to the periodic wars and family feuds and rebellions which afflicted Nishapur at this time, it also appears that the city was shaken with repeated earthquakes and earth tremours. Yāqūt, who visited Nishapur in 1216 but who stayed in Shādhyākh, reported that he could still see the damage which had been caused to the city by the earthquake of 1208.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Kāmil., XI, 247.

2. Honigmann, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Nīshāpūr".

3. M B, III, 230; see above, 13.

The period of the Khwārizm Shāhs rule in Nishapur came to an end with the arrival of the Mongol army in 1221; The Shāh 'Alā'-ad-Dīn, recognising the overwhelming superiority of his opponents and fearing for his own life, fled from Nishapur and left the city without a commander. The relative strength of both the Nishapurian and the Mongol army is compared by al-Juwaynī, who reported that while speedy preparation had been made in Nishapur for conducting a vigorous defence, by constructing 3000 machines for hurling javelins and by mounting on the ramparts of the city 500 catapults, the Mongol army was better armed and had in their possession 300 machines capable of throwing burning pots of naphtha among the city's defenders. After a short and bloody battle, the Mongols entered the city, and for the following thirty days they pillaged and burnt it, massacreing most of the inhabitants and driving the rest out of the city and into exile in the desert.<sup>1</sup> Among the scholars who are reported to have been put to death by the Mongol army were Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār ( IV. AA. 40 ) and al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī ( IV. BB. 10 ).

As a result of this utter destruction of the city and the widespread dispersal of its inhabitants, Nishapur was never to regain its economic prosperity or its cultural position.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Kāmil., XII, 256; Juwaynī, History of the World-Conquerer, I, 176; Saykes, A History of Persia, II, 80; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 421-422.
  2. In 1280, Nishapur was completely destroyed by an earthquake and at the present day the city is situated at the foot of the hill one mile North-West of the ancient city of Nishapur, Yate, Khurasan and Sistan, 410; see above, 14.



## II

THE TRADITIONISTSTHE QUSHAYRĪS, THE SAM'ĀNĪS AND THE SHAḤḤĀMĪS

The most important figures in this field generally tended to come from the leading intellectual families, such as the Qushayrīs, the Shaḥḥāmīs and the Sam'ānīs, all of whom played a distinguished role in promoting the traditionist movement in Nishapur.

The most influential of Nishapur families was that of the Qushayrīs. The family was headed by the well-known mystic, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). His wife Fāṭima bint-ad-Daqqāq ( III. V. 13 ), was also a mystic and all her six sons had distinguished careers in the various aspects of Islamic learning. Three of them, Abū-Sa'd 'Abd-Allāh ( III. V. 10 ), Abū-'l-Faṭḥ 'Ubayd-Allāh ( IV. CC. 3 ) and Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ( III. V. 17 ), became mystics; one, Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ) became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and Ash'arite theologian; the remaining two, Abū-'l-Muẓaffar 'Abd-al-Mun'im ( IV. Y. 11 ) and Abū-Sa'id 'Abd-al-Wāḥid ( IV. Y. 1 ), became traditionists.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Qushayrī was Fāṭima's youngest son and studied traditions in Nishapur under his father, Abū-'l-Qāsim, and under Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ) and Abū-Sa'id al-Bukhturī ( IV. Y. 2 ). After making two pilgrimages to Mecca and teaching traditions in Baghdad, he

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1. see above, 395.

returned to Nishapur where he taught traditions for about 20 years.<sup>1</sup>

Abū-Sa'īd al-Qushayrī is said to have begun learning traditions from the age of four under Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭirāzī. His studies took him to Rayy, Hamadān and Baghdad. On the death of Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (III. T. 9) in 1085, he was appointed as a preacher in the mosque of al-Manī'ī in Nishapur, which had been founded by Abū-'Alī al-Manī'ī (III. S. 15). Later he started Friday evening classes at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur where he dictated traditions to the students.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Sa'īd's son, Abū-As'ad al-Qushayrī (IV.Y.15) also became noted as a traditionist and he was known as the transmitter of Khurasan, and Abū-As'ad's son, 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān (IV.Y.16), held the office of khaṭīb in the mosque of al-Manī'ī.<sup>3</sup>

The most important traditionist at this period was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV.Y.8), who was related through his mother to the Qushayrīs since she had been a daughter of Abū-'l-Qāsim. He studied traditions under his grandfather and then studied jurisprudence along with al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1) and Ilkiya-al-Harrāsī (IV.BB.1) under Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (III.T.9). —

1. Subk., IV, 264.

2. Ibid., III, 284-5; Siyāq., f.98b

3. Subk., IV, 322.

He became renowned as a Shāfi'ite jurist and as a traditionist. After travelling as far as India, he returned to Nishapur where he took up an appointment as a preacher in the mosque of 'Aqīl, lecturing every Monday evening.<sup>1</sup> Most of his books were written in Nishapur and the most important amongst them was the biographical work entitled as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr, which was finished in 1125. This was written as a supplement to al-Ḥākim's ( III. Q. 3 ) Ta'rīkh 'ulamā' Naysābūr.<sup>2</sup> His main work on traditions is embodied in his book Majma' al-gharā'ib. Another of his works was entitled al-Mufhim in which he explained the obscure points of Muslim's ( I. A. 28 ) Ṣaḥīḥ.<sup>3</sup>

Another distinguished family in Nishapur was the Shaḥḥāmīs and two of its members were noted in this period with being skilled in traditions, Zāhir ( IV. Y. 12 ) and Wajīh ( IV. Y. 13 ), the sons of the famous traditionist Ṭahir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( III. Q. 63 ). Both of them are mentioned frequently in the Siyāq of al-Farīsī as being teachers of traditions.

Zāhir, after travelling widely to Rayy, Hamadān, Ḥijāz and Baghdad to study traditions, became known as the Musnad of Khurasan and is reported to have held over one thousand assemblies at which he dictated traditions in one of the mosques

1. Siyāq., ff.146a-b; I Kh., I, 384-5; Subk., IV, 255.

2. Siyāq., Loc.cit., G A L S, I, 623; see above, "Introduction to the sources".

3. I Kh., I, 385.

in Nishapur. He also wrote a work on tradition called Kitāb al-ahādīth al-ilāhiyya. Among his pupils was

Umm-al-Mu'ayyad Zaynab ( IV. Y. 22 ), who herself became noted as a traditionist and who is related to have given Ibn-Khallikān a 'certificate', ijāza, permitting him to deliver traditional information.<sup>1</sup>

Zāhir's younger brother, Wajīh, also became noted as a traditionist and he is reputed to have learnt traditions from al-Farīsī. Both Zāhir and Wajīh gave a certificate to the famous Ḥanbalite traditionist of Baghdad, Ibn-al-Jawzī.<sup>2</sup>

Members of the Sam'ānī family, a famous intellectual family belonging to Marw, came to Nishapur to study and teach traditions. The head of the family was Abū-'l-Muẓaffar ( III. S. 25 ) who had been a distinguished Ḥanafite jurist before he abandoned this system and was converted to Shāfi'ism.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, his sons, Abū-Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ( IV. Y. 10 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim Aḥmad ( IV. AA. 15 ) and Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( IV. AA. 5 ), all became Shāfi'ites. Abū-Bakr's son, Abū-Sa'd 'Abd-al-Karīm ( IV. Y. 17 ), studied traditions in Nishapur under 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ash-Shīruwī ( IV. Y. 6 ), before travelling widely to collect further traditional information. He himself tells us that in these travels he visited Nishapur at least four times.<sup>4</sup> He is acknowledged by as-Subkī as the

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1. Muntazam, X, 79-80.

2. Ibid., X, 124.

3. See above, 335.

4. Ans., ff. 356b, 354a.

leading Muslim scholar of his time in the traditional 'arts', funūn.<sup>1</sup> He composed several works but by far the most important was his book al-Ansāb which is highly recommended by most Muslim writers. It was abridged into three volumes by Ibn-al-Athīr and was then called al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb.<sup>2</sup> The Hanbalite scholar, Ibn-al-Jawzī has criticised the Ansāb on the grounds that it gives a misleading account of the Hanbalite shaykhs.<sup>3</sup>

The only important scholar in the study of traditions not to come from one of these prominent families was Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ), whose family belonged to Furāwa, a village near the frontiers of Khwārizm, but who appears to have been Nishapurian by birth. He at first studied mysticism under Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) but he also studied the Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) under 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) and Abū-'Uthman Sa'īd al-'Ayyār. In addition he attended the lectures of Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ) on jurisprudence, along with al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), al-Fārisī and Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī ( IV. BB. 1 ). On his travels during the course of his pilgrimage to Mecca he spread the teachings of the Shāfi'ism and therefore became known as the Imām of

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1. Subk., IV, 259.

2. Ibid., I, 378.

3. Muntazam., X, 224-5.

al-Ḥaram, but on his return to Nishapur he accepted an appointment as professor in the Nizāmiyya madrasa and as imām in the mosque of al-Mutarriz. He was so highly regarded as a traditionist that it was said of him that he was worth 1000 transmitters of traditions. He specialised in transmitting the Ṣaḥīḥs both of Muslim and of Bukhārī.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 92-4; I Kh., I, 617; T K M, 324; Muntazam., X, 65-6.

THE TRADITIONISTS (1100-1225)

## Y.1 Abū-Sa'īd al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Abd-al-Wahīd ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was the son of the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). Abū-Sa'īd was born in 1027. At the age of four he was taught traditions by Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭirāzī. He was also reported to have learned traditions in Nishapur from his father Abū-'l-Qāsim and from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Muzakkī ( III. Q. 57 ), Ibn-Bākuwayhi ( III. V. 3 ), Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān an-Nīlī, Abū-Naṣr Maṣṣūr ibn-Rāmish ( III. Q. 29 ) and from others. Besides his cultivation of traditional information in Nishapur, he learned this subject in Rayy, Hamadān and Baghdad. It is related that, probably on the death of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) in 1085, he was appointed as preacher in the mosque of al-Manī'ī in Nishapur and held this post until his death. In the years after 1087, he is reported to have made two pilgrimages to Mecca. One significant fact is that he held dictation assemblies on Friday nights at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. He died in Nishapur in 1100-1.

Abū-Sa'īd was a preacher, traditionist and a poet. In al-Manī'ī mosque he used to preach with a new sermon full of useful information, fawa'id. As a traditionist, his pupil, Abū-Bakr Ibn-as-Sam'ānī ( IV. AA. 5 ), calls him Shaykh of Khurasan and great mujtahid.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 284-5; Siyāq., f.98b; a brief note in; Shadh., III, 401.

## Y.2 Abū-Sa'īd al-Bukhturī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Umar ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in Nishapur. At the beginning of his career he studied jurisprudence under Nāṣir al-'Umarī (III.S.11) but he later became specialised as one of the transmitters of the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (I.A.28) and it is believed that he read that work twenty times under 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV.Y.8). He also read traditions in Nishapur under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Muzzakī (III.Q.57) and others. Traditions were delivered on his authority by Abū-Shujā' al-Bisṭāmī. He died in 1107.<sup>1</sup>

## Y.3 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Juwaynī

His name was 'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-'Abd-al-Wahhāb ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1079 in Juwayn. Abū-'l-Muẓaffar studied jurisprudence under Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī (IV. AA. 5), probably in Marw. He came to Nishapur where he learned traditions from 'Abd-al-Wahīd ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm al-Qushayrī (IV. Y. 1), Ismā'īl al-Bayhaqī (IV. Y. 5) al-Ḥasan ibn-as-Samarqandī and from others. He was then appointed qādī in his native place Juwayn. According to Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (IV. Y. 17), Abū-'l-Muẓaffar was acquainted with members of the Sam'ānī family and Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī himself wrote down traditions from him during the latter's stay in Nishapur, Marw and Sarakhs.

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1. Subk., IV, 207.



The date of Abū-'l-Muẓaffar's death is not recorded but according to as-Subkī, he died with the ṭabaqa who died after 1107.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.4 Ad-Dihistānī

His name was 'Umar ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Sa'dūn. His kunya was Abū-'l-Fityān. He was a native of Dihistān which is one of the cities of Māzandarān which was built by 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir.<sup>2</sup> Ad-Dihistānī travelled widely throughout Iraq, Syria, Egypt and Khurasan, learning traditions from the scholars in these countries. In 1058, he came to Nishapur where he read the Muttafiq of al-Jawzaqī ( II. I. 42 ) under Aḥmad ibn-Manṣūr al-Maghribī and also heard traditions from Abū-Ḥafṣ ibn-Manṣūr, Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī ( III. X. 8 ) and Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ). The names of numerous shaykhs under whom he learned traditions in other cities have already been given by adh-Dhahabī. He subsequently became famous as a traditionist and a transmitter of the two Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ). He taught those two works in many cities and it is reported that in Nishapur the jurist, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) learned traditions from him. In Ṭūs he taught the Ṣaḥīḥs

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1. Subk., 258; as-Sam'ānī also reports that Abū-'l-Muẓaffar was appointed qādī of the Samī' quarter in Nishapur, but there is no mention in Yāqūt's Mu'jam al-bulḍān of a quarter of Nishapur called Samī', Ans., f.145a.
  2. Ans., f.233b; Lub., I, 433; M B, II, 633.

to his host, the famous scholar, Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV CC. 1 ). He died in 1109, in Sarakhs, on his way to visit the scholar Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī ( IV. AA. 5 ).<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.5 Abū-'Alī al-Bayhaqī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-'Alī. He was born in 1036-7 in Nishapur and was the son of the famous traditionist Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ). In addition to learning traditions from his father, he also studied in Nishapur under al-Ḥasan ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir and Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ). He travelled widely before settling in Khwārizm where he stayed for twenty years, teaching traditions. He subsequently moved to Balkh and later to Baghdad. A few months before his death in 1113 he visited Nishapur and there taught traditions. He died in his place of birth in Bayhaq.<sup>2</sup>

#### Y.6 Ash-Shīruwī

His name was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir or 'Abd-al-Ghaffār ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-Shīruwayhi. He was born in 1023 in

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1. Tadh., IV, 33-35; Siyāq., f.109b; Muntazam., IX, 164; Shadh., IV, 7.
  2. Muntazam., IX, 175-6; according to al-Fārisī, Abū-'Alī studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under Nāṣir al-'Umārī ( III. S. 11 ), and went to Khwārizm where he became the Khaṭīb of a Shāfi'ite madrasa, Siyāq., f.44b.

Nishapur and became a merchant. He heard traditions from Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥasan, Abū-Sa'īd Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣayrafī ( III. Q. 24), Abū-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī ( III. T. 5 ), and Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥman al-Muzakkī. He went to Iṣpahan where he continued to learn traditions from Abū-Bakr Muḥammad aḍ-Ḍaba'ī and Abū-Ṭāhir Muḥammad al-Kātib. He was regarded with distinction in Nishapur as the transmitter of Khurasan. Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) tells us that in 1115, he attended Ash-Shīruwī's assemblies in Nishapur for one year and that he received from him traditional information which made him equal in isnād to his master ash-Shīruwī. He died in 1117.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.7 Abū-Ja'far an-Naqīb

His name was Dāwūd ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was the naqīb of the Shi'ite sect in Nishapur. He learned traditions from the Sunnite shaykhs Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Kanjarūdī and from Abū-'l-Ḥusayn 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ( III. Q. 49 ). Under the latter he read the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). During his period of office as naqīb he kept the Shi'ite community in peace without interfering in the affairs of the Sunnite community. He died in 1122.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Ans., f.345b; Shadh., IV, 27; Subk., IV, 259.

2. Siyāq., f.64a.

## Y.8 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī

His name was 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Ismā'il ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Muḥammad. His father was a native of Fārs, hence he received the nisba of al-Fārisī. 'Abd-al-Ghāfir was born in Nishapur in 1059. It is related that, at the age of five, he entered the maktab and began to study how to read the Qur'ān and that he was soon able to read the creed in Persian.<sup>1</sup> During most of his childhood, 'Abd-al-Ghāfir's father was away from Nishapur but on his return in 1070, he took his son to visit and study under his maternal grandfather, the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). After he had completed his studies of the works of al-Qushayrī, on the advice of his teacher, he began to study the Muttafiq of al-Jawzaqī (II.I.42). He was also learning traditions from numerous shaykhs in Nishapur whose names are given by his biographers.<sup>2</sup> For four more years he studied jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ), before leaving Nishapur and going to Khwārizm, where he continued his studies under the most eminent teachers in that country and opened a private course for the instruction of pupils. He travelled from thence to Ghazna and then proceeded to India. In the latter place he taught al-Qushayrī's work Laṭā'if al-īshārāt. On his return to Nishapur he was appointed khatīb of Nishapur and for a number of years he gave lessons every Monday evening in the mosque of 'Aqīl. He

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1. I Kh., I, 384-385.

2. Aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī account in the Siyāq., ff. 146a-b; Subk., IV, 255; I Kh., I, loc. cit.; Tadh., IV, 68-70.

died in Nishapur in 1134-5.<sup>1</sup>

'Abd-al-Ghāfir was a traditionist and grammarian of the highest calibre. He was also a distinguished writer and the following is a list of his works which are named by his biographers;

1. As-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābur.
2. Al-Mufhim.
3. Majma' al-Gharā'ib.
4. Al-Arba'in.

Of these works No. 3 and No.4 are extant. No.1 and No.2 are lost but as far as No.1 is concerned it is widely known in quotation and an abridged version which is extant was made by aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī (d. 1243).<sup>2</sup>

#### Y.9 Al-Furāwī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-Aḥmad an-Naysāburī. His kunya was 'Abū-'Abd-Allāh and his laqab was Kamāl-ad-Dīn. His family belonged to Furāwa, a village on the frontiers of Khwārizm. Thus he received the nisba al-Furāwī.<sup>3</sup> He was born in Nishapur in 1049-50 and passed his youth there among the mystic community, with Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī

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1. Siyāq., ff. 146a-b.; I Kh., I, 385; Subk., IV, 255; Shadh., IV, 93; Tadh., IV, 69.

2. I Kh., I, loc.cit.; Siyāq., f.146b; Subk., IV, loc.cit.; G A L S, I, 623; G A L, I, 449.

3. Furāwa or Farāwa, was built to the Caliph al-Ma'mūn by the governor of Khurasan 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir, M B, III, 866; I Kh., I, 617; Lub., II, 200-201; Ans., f.421a.

( III. V. 8 ) as his shaykh. However, he also studied in Nishapur the Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and of al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ) under 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) and Abū-'Uthmān Sa'īd al-'Ayyār respectively. In addition he attended the lectures of the Imam-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) and took notes on his teachings on the principles of jurisprudence. Among his other masters were Abū-Ishāq ash-Shirāzī ( III. S. 20 ) and Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ).

When al-Furāwī went on his pilgrimage to Mecca, he held public meetings in all the cities through which he passed, including Baghdad. He also gave lectures in the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina and because he was credited with spreading the doctrines of Shāfi'ism there, he was called the Imām of al-Ḥaram. On his return to Nishapur he was appointed professor in the Nāṣiḥiyya madrasa which was then in the street of 'Ammār and he also fulfilled the duties of imām in the mosque of al-Muṭarriz. He died in Nishapur in 1136 and was buried beside the tomb of Ibn-Khuzayma ( II. K. 4 ).

Al-Furāwī was famous as a traditionist and as a jurist: in fact, so highly was he regarded as a traditionist that it was said of him that he was worth 1,000 transmitters of traditions. It is also alleged that he taught the traditions of high isnād in a thousand assemblies. He was the only person qualified and specialised enough to transmit the Ṣaḥīḥs both of Muslim and of Bukhārī and he was also authorised to repeat and explain some.

of the writings of his master Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī. Among his other activities he was noted as a muftī, a controvertialist and a preacher.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.10 Abū-Muḥammad as-Samʿanī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Manṣūr ibn-ʿAbd-al-Jabbār. He was a native of Marw and the son of the famous jurist Abū-ʿl-Muẓaffar as-Samʿanī ( III. S. 25 ). He studied jurisprudence in Marw under his father. He also heard traditions from him. He came to Nishapur in the company of his cousin Abū-Saʿd ( IV. Y. 17 ) and there he heard traditions from Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAlī-ibn-Aḥmad al-Madīnī, Abū-Saʿīd ʿAbd-al-Wāḥid al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 1 ) and from others. He died in 1136-7.<sup>2</sup>

#### Y.11 Abū-ʿl-Muẓaffar al-Qushayrī

His name was ʿAbd-al-Munʿim ibn-ʿAbd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was the youngest son of the famous mystic Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). ʿAbd-al-Munʿim was born in Nishapur in 1053 and was taught traditions there by his father and by other masters such as Abū-Saʿīd al-Bukhturī ( IV. Y. 2 ) and

1. Subk., IV, 92-4; I Kh., I, 617; T K M, 324; Muntazam., X, 65-6; Shadh., IV, 96.

2. Subk., IV, 212-13.

Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III. Q. 54 ). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca with his brother, 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm ( IV. BB. 3 ) and later stayed in Baghdad where he taught traditions and heard traditions from the Baghdadian scholars Ibn-an-Nuḡayrī and Abū-Naṣr az-Zaynabī. It is reported that he went on pilgrimage for a second time before returning to Baghdad. He finally returned to Nishapur where he taught traditions for about 20 years before dying in 1137.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.12 Zāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī

His name was Zāhir ibn-Ṭāhir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-'l-Qāsim. His nisba was ash-Shaḥḥāmī, which was probably derived from his family's occupation as 'fat' merchants.<sup>2</sup> He was born in 1053 in Nishapur. He heard traditions in Nishapur from Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdī (III.X.13), Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III.Q.54) and others. He travelled into Iṣpahan, Rayy, Hamadān, Ḥijāz and Baghdad to learn traditions. He became famous as transmitter of Khurasan and a master of shurūṭ. He held about a thousand assemblies in one of the mosques in Nishapur. Ibn-al-Jawzī seems to have obtained ijāza from Zāhir permitting him to teach all his traditional information. He died in Nishapur in 1138 and was buried in the cemetery of

1. Ibid., IV, 264; Muntazam., X, 75; Shadh., IV, 99.

2. See his father Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ash-Shaḥḥāmī (III.Q.63).



Yahya ibn-Yahya (I.A.5). Zahir is said to have composed three works;

1. Kitāb al-aḥādīth al-ilāhiyya
2. Tuhfat 'Īd-al-Fiṭr
3. At-Ta'rīkh. No. I is extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.13 Wajīh ash-Shaḥḥāmī

His name was Wajīh ibn-Ṭāhir ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-Bakr. He was the brother of the above-mentioned Zāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī. Wajīh was born in 1063. He heard traditions in Nishapur from 'Abd-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ) and from 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd al-Baḥīrī. Then he went to Herat and Baghdad, collecting a great quantity of traditional information. Ibn-'al-Jawzī first obtained ijāza from his brother and later another from Wajīh. He died in Nishapur in 1146.<sup>2</sup>

#### Y.14 Abū-Ṭālib al-Kanjarūdhi

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān and he was born in a village called Kanjarūdhi situated at one of the gates of the city of Nishapur. Abū-Ṭālib learned traditions from the

1. Muntazam., X, 79-80; Shadh., IV, 102; Mizān., II, 64; T Q, I, 288; H Kh, I, 376; G A L, I, 449-450.
2. Muntazam., X, 124; Siyāq., f.139b.

Shāfi'ite jurists Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III. S. 20 ) and Muḥammad ibn-Ismā'īl at-Taflīsī. It is also reported that Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) delivered traditions on his authority. He died in 1153.<sup>1</sup>

#### Y.15 Abū-As'ad al-Qushayrī

His name was Hibat-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was the grandson of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and became the head of the Qushayrīs, a prominent family in Nishapur. He was born in 1067 in Nishapur and learned traditions from members of his family, such as his grandfather, 'Abd-al-Karīm, his grandmother Faṭīma ( III. V. 13 ) and his paternal uncle, Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ( III. V. 17 ). He learned traditions from scholars outside of his family such as Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Mu'adhhdhin ( IV. Y. 18 ). He became famous as the transmitter of Khurasan and as one of the prominent scholars of the city of Nishapur and of other cities. Many scholars delivered traditions on his authority, such as al-Mu'ayyad at-Ṭūsī ( IV. Z. 6 ), Abū-S'ad as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) and his son 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm, and the Syrian from Damascus, al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn-'Asākir. Hibat-Allāh died in 1153.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 77; see Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdhi ( III. X. 13 ).

2. Subk., IV, 322.

## Y.16 Abū-Khalaf al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Hibat-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm al-Qushayrī. He was born in 1196-7 in Nishapur and came from the distinguished scholastic family of the Qushayrīs. He himself heard traditions from 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ash-Shīruwī ( IV. Y. 6 ), Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī and others. Traditions also were delivered on his authority by 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm as-Sam'ānī ( d. 1217 ).<sup>1</sup> Abū-Khalaf was noted as a man of piety and scholarship, and after the death of his father, he was appointed as a preacher in Nishapur. He finally died there in 1163.<sup>2</sup>

## Y.17 Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī

His name was 'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in 1109 in Marw, but at the age of seven he was taken by his father to Nishapur to study traditions and there he received traditions from 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ibn-Muḥammad ash-Shīruwī ( IV. Y. 6 ) and 'Ubayd ibn-Muḥammad al-Qushayrī.<sup>3</sup> With his father he

- 
1. 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm was the son of the famous traditionist Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ).
  2. Subk., IV, 249.
  3. 'Ubayd has no kinship relation with the Qushayrīs the famous family of Nishapur and according to Ibn al-Athīr his name was 'Ubayd ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Ubayd ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Ubayd al-Qushayrī, Lub, I, 10.

returned to Marw and on his father's death in the following year, he was brought up by his paternal uncles and by Muḥammad ash-Shujā'ī of Sarakhs, who was a friend of his father. Thus it was that, while still a youth, in addition to reading the Qur'ān, he had studied extensively the subjects of jurisprudence, the science of traditions and their interpretation. Throughout the rest of his life he was to continue to pursue these studies while travelling widely within the Islamic world, gathering scholastic information in general and collecting traditions in particular.<sup>1</sup>

He himself records the places and dates of some of his travels in his book al-Ansāb. He notes, for example, that in 1134 he was taken to Nishapur by his paternal uncle, Abū-'l-Qasam Aḥmad as-Sam'ānī, where he studied the Sahīh of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ).<sup>2</sup> He appears to have stayed in Baghdad from 1135 until 1140-1 before making several excursions - to Damascus in 1141, Rayy in 1142 and Ṭūs in 1143.<sup>3</sup> According to as-Subkī, he also returned to Marw during the year 1143 and got married there.<sup>4</sup> However his marriage does not seem to have deterred him from continuing his travels and Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī himself reports that, during his subsequent

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1. Lub., I, 10; Ans., ff.330a, 345b; Subk., IV, 259.

2. Ans., f.108b.

3. Ibid., ff.308b, 316a-b, 356a, 390a.

4. Subk., IV, 259.

journeys in Syria, he visited Şaydā and Aleppo and stayed for some time in Wāsiṭ, in Baṣra and in Ḥijāz.<sup>1</sup> He also mentions that he visited certain places repeatedly. For example, he speaks of having visited Tūs twice and Nishapur four times. As-Subkī claims that as-Sam'ānī was staying in Jerusalem when that city was under the rule of the Crusaders and that he made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice.<sup>2</sup> According to al-Ansāb, as-Sam'ānī was in Khwārizm in 1154, Nasaf in 1155 and Iṣpahān in 1156-7. After 1156-7 he appears to have settled in Marw where he was appointed a professor in the 'Amīdiyya madrasa.<sup>3</sup> The last date connected with the author's activities which is given in the al-Ansāb is, according to the research done by Margoliouth, that of 1160-61 when he acted as arbiter between the inhabitants of Sinj and Ghuzz. He died in 1166.<sup>4</sup>

As-Sam'ānī has the reputation of being one of the foremost traditionist scholars and as-Subkī and others have regarded him as the leading Muslim writer in the various branches of the 'traditional arts', funūn al-ḥadīth, Ibn-Khallikān gives a list of some of the books which he is thought to have written.<sup>5</sup> By far the most famous among them is the book which we have already mentioned, al-Ansāb. This is the work which

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1. Ans., ff.356b, 354a.

2. Subk., IV, 259.

3. Ibid., IV, 560; Ans. ff.397b, 308b, 418b.

4. Margoliouth, edition of al-Ansāb, see "Introduction", 3; see also Ans., f.313a.

5. Subk., IV, 260.

Ibn-al-Athīr revised and abridged into 3 volumes called al-Lubāb fī tahdhīb al-ansāb. Another work written by as-Sam'ānī, in 13 volumes, was called Dhayl tar'īkh Baghdād. He also wrote the history of his native city Marw simply under the title Tar'īkh Marw, consisting of almost 20 volumes. He wrote also a geographical dictionary similar to Yāqūts Mu'jam al buldān and it bears the same title. Another work of his was the dictionary of his teachers called Mu'jam ash-shuyūkh. As-Subkī, Ḥājji-Khalīfa and Ibn-al-Athīr listed his works. Brockelmann lists the following works as extant:-

1. al-Isfār 'an hukm al-asfār
2. Fadā'il ash-Sham.
3. Adab al-implā' wa'l-istimplā'.
4. Adab al-qādī.
5. Dhayl ta'rīkh Baghdād li-'l-Khaṭīb.
6. Kitāb al-ansāb.
7. al-Mujtanā.<sup>1</sup>

Y.18 Abū-'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mu'adhhdhin

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Isma'īl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abd-al-Malik. He was born in Nishapur in 1087 and was the

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1. I Kh., I, 378-9; Lub., I, 10; Subk., IV, 260; G A L, I, 401-402; G A L S, I, 564-565. The longest list is given by Ḥājji-Khalīfa, H Kh., I, 86, 131, 161, 169, 179, 287, 303, 374; II, 998, 1108, 1123, 1138, 1418, 1434, 1459, 1607, 1666, 1735, 1737, 1784, 1937.

grandson of the famous traditionist Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ). Abū-'Abd-Allāh himself learned traditions from Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī ( III. V. 12 ) and 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad al-Madīnī in Nishapur. He went to Kirmān with his father and became associated with the governor of that city. He was commissioned by the governor of Kirmān to undertake diplomatic missions to the court of the Caliph in Baghdad in 1141 and 1150. He died in 1181.<sup>1</sup>

Y.19 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qazwīnī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ḥaydar. He was a native of Qazwīn. He studied jurisprudence in his native town, before coming to Nishapur. In the latter place he learned traditions from Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ) and others. He visited Marw and learned traditions from Yūsuf ibn-Ayyūb al-Hamadhānī. He finally took up residence in Hamadān where he taught the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and collected forty sound traditions. He died in Hamadān in 1186.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 66-67.

2. Ibid., IV, 234.

## Y.20      Abū-'l-Futūḥ al-Harawī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Muṭahhar ibn-Ya'la. He was born in Herat in 1110. He learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furawī ( IV. Y. 9 ) and Abū-Sa'id Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Sa'id. On his return from his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1183, he visited Baghdad where he taught the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and the Gharīb of al-Khaṭṭābī ( II. I. 44 ). He died in Adharbayjān in 1188-9.<sup>1</sup>

## Y.21      Al-Bakrī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1124-5 in Nishapur where he learned traditions from Hibat-ar-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 15 ). While still a youth he left Nishapur and came to Baghdad where in 1146 he learned traditions from al-Ḥusayn ibn-Naṣr al-Mawṣilī. He resided for a time in this city; then he went to Syria where he resided in ribāṭ of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn. In 1205, he returned to Baghdad to teach traditions. Although ad-Dubaythī was not able to attend his lectures, he was given an ijāza by al-Bakrī to teach traditions. He died in Damascus in 1218.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Dubaythī, al-Mukhtaṣar., 145.

2. Ibid., 129-130.



## Y.22 Umm-al-Mu'ayyad ash-Sha'riyya

Her name was Zaynab bint-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Sahl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Abdūs. She was born in Nishapur in 1130. Her father was a native of Gurgān and a resident of Nishapur and was known by his nisba ash-Sha'ri. His daughter, Zaynab, met and studied under various persons respected for their scholarship, from whom she obtained ijāza authorizing her to teach what they had taught her. Among those from whom she took the ijāza were Abū-Muḥammad Ismā'īl ibn-Abū-'l-Qāsim ibn-Abū-Bakr, Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furawī (IV. Y. 9 ), Zāhir ( IV. Y. 12 ) and Wajīh ( IV. Y. 13 ) the Shaḥḥāmīs, 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 11 ), 'Abd-al-Wahhāb ash-Shadhīyākhi and the famous man of letters az-Zamakhsharī.

Zaynab became a very learned woman with great traditional learning. One significant feature was that Ibn-Khallikān (at the age of three?) possessed ijāza from her which she had issued to him in 1214. Zaynab died in 1218-9 and with her death the high isnād was stopped.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 247; Shadh., V, 62.

## III

THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIANTHE PUPILS OF AL-JUWAYNĪ AND MUḤAMMAD IBN-YAḤYA

This period shows the extent to which, in Nishapur, the academic and intellectual activities of the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites completely eclipsed those of their main rival Sunnite school, the Ḥanafites.

Although we have already mentioned in the historical Introduction to this section the political role played by the Karrāmites in the last decade of the 11th century, nothing is known of their intellectual influence or following. After the rioting which they appear to have provoked in 1095, they were discredited and their political and intellectual significance as a sect declined. Al-Fārisī, when he came to write his book as-Siyāq li-ta'rīkh Naysābūr merely lists the names of some of the followers of the Karrāmites without mentioning any of their intellectual achievements or political exploits. This is indicative of how little importance was attached to this sect at this time.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See above, 458-459. One of the Karrāmite scholars known as al-'Alma'ī (IV. EE. 4) is given in this part, but his importance in the field of scholarship is unknown.

The reasons why the Ḥanafites were so completely dominated in all spheres of activity by the Shāfi'ites during the twelfth century are not definitely known. The Ḥanafites continued to be led by the famous Ṣā'idī family, which had produced in the past the outstanding Ḥanafite leaders Qāḍī-Ṣā'id (III. R. 6) and Abū-Naṣr (III. R. 12). Their leadership in this period passed by inheritance to the grandson of Qāḍī-Ṣā'id, Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad ( IV. Z. 2 ), who led the Ḥanafites in the rioting with the Karrāmites in 1095. Neither of their leaders appears to have been particularly distinguished and, even though the Ḥanafites retained the legal office of qāḍī under their control, since both Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad and his son al-Burhān ( IV. Z. 4 ) became qāḍīs of Nishapur, the Ḥanafites would probably have done this in any case without any special merit on the part of their leaders. The main achievement of their leaders was in the maintenance of peaceful relations with the Shāfi'ites and we find two instances in which joint action seems to have been taken by both sects against a common enemy, firstly against the Karrāmites in 1095 and then against the 'Alid, the governor of Nishapur, in 1159.<sup>1</sup>

The leading intellectual figures of the Ḥanafite sect however, according to Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā', were Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naysābūrī ( IV. Z. 3 ) and ar-Riḍā an-Naysābūrī (IV. Z. 6 ).<sup>2</sup> The former was regarded as the chief Ḥanafite jurist of his time in Nishapur and was especially recognised for his skill

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1. Jaw., II, 22, 182, see table 8, see above, 463-465;  
see below, (List No.3), 633.

2. He was also known as al-Mu'ayyad aṭ-Ṭūsī.

and ability in presiding over nazar discussions, which were held by that school.<sup>1</sup> The latter, ar-Riḍā, was known chiefly for creating and making current a new method of argument, khilāf, which was named after him aṭ-Ṭarīqa ar-Riḍāwiyya.<sup>2</sup>

That these were the only figures of any note among the Ḥanafite jurists in Nishapur indicates the ascendancy which the Shāfi'ite and the Ash'arite schools had over the intellectual, social and political life of Nishapur at this time. The mere fact of the unsettled political conditions, which prevailed in the twelfth century, would be insufficient in itself to account for the overwhelming eclipse of the Ḥanafites, since these conditions applied equally to the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites. The main reasons, therefore, for the predominance of these latter schools must be sought within the internal history and development of the schools themselves.

One of the factors leading to this ascendancy may have been the political support which the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites received from the Seljūqs and their Viziers. This process had begun with the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk who, it will be remembered, had founded the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur for their teachings and had encouraged their leading families to accept administrative positions, such as the ri'āsa, in the city. This process was continued by Sanjar, both when he was appointed governor of Khurasan and when he had finally made himself Sultan in 1118. He appears to have given greater

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1. Jaw., I, 272.

2. Ibid., II, 263; H. Kh., I, 1113.

support to the Shāfi'ites than he did to any other sect. His viziers were either Shāfi'ites themselves or encouraged the employment of members of that sect in the administrative and diplomatic services. With the military defeat of the Seljūqs in 1153, this process came to an end, although an attempt was made to revive it in the brief interlude of peace under al-Mu'ayyad.<sup>1</sup>

Another of the factors which encouraged the ascendancy of the Shāfi'ite and Ash'arite schools may well have been the intellectual brilliance of their leading families, the al-Juwaynīs and al-Qushayrīs. This is in contrast to the Hanafite family of the Ṣā'idīs whose leadership had apparently passed into the hands of men of only mediocre talent and ability. With the death of their famous leader Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ) in 1085 and the murder of his successor Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī ( III. V. 8 ) in the rioting with the Karrāmites in 1095, leadership of the Shāfi'ite sect passed into the control of the al-Qushayrī family and Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ) became the chief of the Shāfi'ites. When Abū-Naṣr died in 1120, the great Shāfi'ite scholar Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) became leader of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

Probably the most important factor, however, in accounting for the ascendancy of the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites

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1. See above, 457-461.

2. Subk., IV, 251; I Kh., I, 589.

over the other schools was the unbroken succession of three generations of able Shāfi'ite scholars and the consequent continuity of the development of Shāfi'ism as a body of juridical doctrine. At the centre of this continuity was the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. All of the Shāfi'ite jurists who played their part in promoting the development of Shāfi'ism in Nishapur, had at one time studied and received their training in the Nizāmiyya madrasa there, and most of them took up teaching posts in this madrasa when their studies were finished.<sup>1</sup>

The impetus towards this development of Shāfi'ism in Nishapur was largely the legacy of the teachings of the famous theologian and scholar, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī, in the Nizāmiyya madrasa. All the scholars of the Shāfi'ite and the Ash'arite schools, from the close of the eleventh to the end of the twelfth century, were influenced by this scholar, either directly, through having studied under him, or indirectly, through having studied under one of his pupils.

It is recorded that al-Juwaynī had over 400 students and most of these became Shāfi'ite jurists of some note, following their master in carrying on the practice of teaching jurisprudence and theology.<sup>2</sup>

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1. See below, (List No.2), 627-630.

2. Muntazam., IX, 18.

Among those of al-Juwaynī's students who were later appointed professors at the Niẓāmiyya madrasas were Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī ( IV. BB. 1 ), Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī ( IV. BB. 2 ), al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ), Abū-'l-Ma'ālī aṭ-Ṭūsī ( IV. AA. 8 ) and Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 28 ). Among the rest of his students who taught Shāfi'ism elsewhere were Abū-Naṣr al-Argiyānī ( IV. AA. 12 ), ash-Shabbāk ( IV. AA. 7 ), Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 2 ), 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ), ad-Damghānī ( IV. AA. 18 ), Abū-Sa'd al-Mu'adhdhin ( IV. BB. 4 ), Abū-'l-Ghanā'im al-Mushīlī ( IV. AA. 11 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭā'ī ( IV. AA. 6 ), al-Khuwārī ( IV. AA. 17 ) and al-Aḥdath ( IV. AA. 14 ).<sup>1</sup>

It is not intended in this commentary to deal with all these pupils of al-Juwaynī and the details of their lives may be left to the biography. However it may be useful to give a short note on his most illustrious students, mentioning their most important pupils from Nishapur and coming to an end with a few details about the pupils of Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ).

Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī was al-Juwaynī's most famous student. He had been attracted from Ṭūs to Nishapur by al-Juwaynī's reputation as a teacher. After his teacher's death in 1085, al-Ghazālī left Nishapur and was later appointed a professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad, in 1091. It was during his four year stay at this madrasa

1. See below, (Lists No.I,B.2), 615-616, 629.

that his reputation as a scholar became well established. Among his several hundred students there were the Nishapurian scholars, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya (IV. AA. 22), Abū-'l-Faṭḥ ad-Duwīnī (IV.AA.20) and al-Bāqarḥī ( IV. AA. 27). He did not return to Nishapur until 1105/6 when he was finally persuaded by the Vizier to Sanjar, Fakhr-al-Mulk, to accept an appointment as professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa there. He appears to have stayed in Nishapur probably until 1110, teaching and writing his autobiographical work, al-Munqidh min ad-ḍalāl. Unfortunately, the names of his students during this period in Nishapur are not known, but it is probable that Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bāqarḥī studied jurisprudence under him at this time. He retired to Tūs where he founded a khanqah for mystics. It is reported that Abū-Manṣūr al-Wa'īd (IV. AA. 29 ) studied under him at Tūs apparently not in the madrasa but as a private pupil.<sup>1</sup>

Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī was a friend and fellow student of al-Ghazālī under al-Juwaynī. Like al-Ghazālī, he was a stranger to Nishapur, having been born in Ṭabaristān, and he, too, had been attracted by the renown of the famous theologian. During his student years in Nishapur, he attended lectures in both the Sarhank and Niẓāmiyya madrasas.<sup>2</sup> 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV.Y.8), who was also a fellow student of al-Juwaynī along with al-Ghazālī and Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī, seems to have been favourably impressed with Ilkiyā's ability in naẓar discussions.<sup>3</sup> Al-Juwaynī

1. See below, (Lists Nos. I.B.2), 617, 629.

2. Subk., IV, 281-2; T K M, 288-9.

3. Siyāq., f.116b.



appointed Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī assistant lecturer at the Nizāmiyya madrasa. When he had finished his studies in Nishapur, he taught for a time in Bayhaq before moving to Baghdad where in 1098 he was appointed the head professor at the Nizāmiyya madrasa in that city. One of his pupils there was Abū-'l-Fath al-Bārqaḥī ( IV. AA. 27 ), whom we have already mentioned above in connection with al-Ghazālī (IV. CC. 1). Ibn-Khallikān regarded Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī as being a good lecturer.<sup>1</sup> Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī also entered the service of the Sultan Barkiyāruq and performed some duties as a diplomatic envoy between his master and the Caliph al-Mustazhir. Through his master's influence, he was also appointed Chief qādī of Baghdad.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī was the son of the famous mystic, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( IV. V. 8 ) and, on the death of his father in 1076, he became the pupil of al-Juwaynī. He later moved to Baghdad where he became a lecturer in the Nizāmiyya madrasa there. He seems to have been a fiery preacher because it is reported that it was his preaching which led to the riots between the Ash'arites and the Ḥanbalites in 1067. It was fortunate that the then Vizier, Nizām-al-Mulk, supported the Shāfi'ites and the Ash'arites because the only thing that appears to have happened to him as a result of causing these riots in Baghdad was that he was escorted back to Nishapur by the Vizier's guard of honour.

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1. I Kh., I, 412-13.

2. Kamil., XI, 197; see below, (Lists Nos. I.B.11), 617, 629.

On the death of al-Juwaynī's son, Abū-'l-Qāsim ( III. S. 27 ), in the rioting which took place in 1095 in Nishapur, the family of al-Juwaynī lost their leadership of the Shāfi'ite sect in the city and, according to as-Subkī, Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī became the acknowledged Shāfi'ite leader until his death in 1120.<sup>1</sup>

Among Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī's pupils who studied under him were Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bāqarḥī ( IV. AA. 27 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sukhtinī ( IV. AA. 23 ) al-Aghmāṭī ( IV. AA. 9 ), ash-Shahrastānī ( IV. BB. 6 ), Abū-'l-Futūḥ al-Labbād ( IV. AA. 33 ) and al-Kharjirdī ( IV. AA. 24 ). It is also reported that al-Qutḥ an-Naysāburī ( IV. AA. 30 ) met Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī but it is not known if he was a student of the master or not. Abū-Naṣr's brother-in-law, Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār ( IV. AA. 26 ), who studied under him, is known to have been an extremely competent Shāfi'ite jurist and has been compared favourably with Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya by Ibn-'Imād.<sup>2</sup> He is also known to have lectured on his master's work, the at-Taysīr fi't-tafsīr, in Baghdad.<sup>3</sup> Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sukhtinī was one of Abū-Naṣr's most devoted students and it is said that the student knew by heart all the works of his master. Ash-Shahrastānī studied jurisprudence under Abū-Naṣr before he proceeded to study theology under Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī ( IV. BB. 2 ).

1. Subk., IV, 251; Ibn-Rajab, ad-Dhayl 'alā taḥqīq al-Hanābila, I, 19-22; Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 107-108; see below, (List No.I.B), 617-618.

2. Shadh., IV, 168.

3. Subk., IV, 285.

Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī was a clerk in the library of the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. For a time he was a disciple of the mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( IV. V. 8 ) but he subsequently took up the study of theology under al-Juwaynī. He became well known as an outstanding Ash'arite theologian through his lectures and his books. One of his books was a commentary on the Irshād of al-Juwaynī.<sup>1</sup>

One of al-Anṣārī's most famous theological students was ash-Shahrastānī, whom we have mentioned above in connection with his study of jurisprudence under Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī. Ash-Shahrastānī wrote a famous treatise on the religions and sects which was called Kitāb al-milal wa'n-niḥal and which indicates, inter alia, that he was relatively well acquainted with Greek philosophy. Even though as-Sam'ānī alleged that ash-Shahrastānī inclined towards some of the doctrines of the Bāṭinites and that he evolved a philosophical justification for the nature of their discussions, this opinion is totally rejected by as-Subkī and Ibn-Khallikān.<sup>2</sup>

Both Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī ( IV. AA. 12 ) and his brother, Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Arghiyānī ( IV. AA. 1 ) studied jurisprudence under al-Juwaynī. Abū-Naṣr appears to have been the more distinguished of the two brothers and he was recognised as the chief Shāfi'ite jurist in Arghiyān and acquired a high reputation as a muftī. Abū-Naṣr's most.

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1. Subk., IV, 222-3, see below, (List No.1.D), 622.

2. As-Sam'ānī quoted by as-Subkī, Subk., IV, 79;

I Kh., I, 610-611.

famous work was a collection of fatwās which were called after him al-Fatawā al-Arghiyāniyya. After his death his nephew, Abū-Shujā' al-Arghiyānī ( IV. AA. 41 ) replaced him as imām in the mosque of 'Aqīl.<sup>1</sup>

Ash-Shabbāk ( IV. AA. 7 ) was also a close friend of al-Ghazālī and a fellow pupil with him under al-Juwaynī. He accompanied al-Ghazālī to Iraq, Hījāz and Syria. When he returned to his native city of Gurgān he commenced lecturing on what he had learnt and his lecturing proved so successful that a madrasa was built for him there.<sup>2</sup>

Among other students of al-Juwaynī of whom mention should be made was Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 2 ) who remained a close friend of his master until the latter's death. He was also highly regarded by his contemporaries, according to as-Subkī, for his discussion assemblies and was well-known as a teacher of Shāfi'ism. Abū-'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd-ar-Razzāq aṭ-Ṭūsī ( IV. AA. 8 ) was a nephew of the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, who had founded the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur, and he was subsequently appointed as a professor to this madrasa. He later became Vizier to Sanjar in Nishapur.<sup>3</sup> Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 28 ) was also a well-known Shāfi'ite jurist who had been a student of al-Juwaynī and he became a lecturer at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur.<sup>4</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 589; Subk., IV, 70-71; see below, (List No.4), 635.

2. Siyaq., f.37a; Subk., IV, 200.

3. Ibid., IV, 254.

4. Ibid., IV, 308.

From what has been already given, it will be readily understood that the flowering of Shāfi'ism and Ash'arism in Nishapur was a combination of two things: scholars of such quality as to be able to impart to their students their stimulation with the subject, and facilities, such as colleges and libraries, which were able to sustain that stimulation and develop it. That the impact given to their doctrines would have continued throughout the twelfth century, had not repeated invasions of the city and the destruction and havoc that they wrought prevented it, can be seen from a few details about the third generation of students who were taught by Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya (IV. AA. 22 ).

Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya himself studied jurisprudence under al-Ghazālī and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 2) in Nishapur and he became renowned as such an eminent jurist that he was recognised as the chief of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur after the death of Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī in 1120. He gave lectures on jurisprudence in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Herat but for most of his life he fulfilled the duties of professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. Scholars came from all the Islamic lands to study under him in Nishapur. Two of his most famous books were al-Intiṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf and al-Muḥīṭ: the former was a treatise on some of the controversial aspects of the Shāfi'ite doctrines and the latter was a commentary on al-Ghazālī's Wasīṭ.<sup>1</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 589; Subk., IV, 197-8; cf. Smith, Al-Ghazālī the Mystic, 64-5.

Among those who are known to have attended his lectures in Nishapur were the ten men whose names were Ibn-Faḍlān ( IV. AA. 37 ), Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabarī ( IV. CC. 4 ), Muḥammad ibn-al-Faḍl al-Qazwīnī ( IV. AA. 31 ), al-Imām Abū-Ḥamid al-Qazwīnī ( IV. AA. 32 ), Sharafshā ibn-Malikdād ( IV. AA. 19 ), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭālaqānī ( IV. AA. 35 ), Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī ( IV. BB. 9 ), Abū-'l-Muẓaffar ibn-'Asākīr ( IV. AA. 36 ), Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysābūrī ( IV. AA. 30 ) and al-Khubūshānī ( IV. AA. 34 ).<sup>1</sup>

One of his ablest students was al-Khubūshānī, who was so influenced by his master that he wrote a commentary to Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya's al-Muḥīṭ entitled Taḥqīq al-muḥīṭ, in sixteen volumes. Al-Khubūshānī later went to Egypt where he attracted the attention and favour of the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn. The Sultan built a madrasa for him and appointed him as a professor to it. As-Subkī mentions that al-Khubūshānī was the person who originally started the rioting in Cairo between the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanbalites.<sup>2</sup>

Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysābūrī became Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya's assistant lecturer at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. He was later to move from Nishapur and teach in the Mujāhidiyya madrasa in Damascus and in other madrasas in Aleppo.

Two of his students became noted as jurists: they were Ibn-'Asākīr (IV.AA.36) and Abū-'l-

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1. See below, (List No.I.B), 618.

2. Subk., IV, 92; Ibn-Jubayr, Riḥlat Ibn-Jubayr, 48.

Ḥasan al-Juwaynī ( IV. AA. 39 ). The later was Qutb-ad-Dīn an-Naysābūrī's son-in-law as well as being one of his students and he became an extremely highly-respected Shāfi'ite jurist. His fame even attracted the caliph of Baghdad, who employed him to act as a diplomatic envoy to the Crusaders when they occupied Dimyāṭ in 1221.<sup>1</sup>

Ibn-Faḍlān, another student of Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya's, became a noted master of khilāf. His standing as a Shāfi'ite jurist is illustrated by the fact that he became chief of the Shāfi'ites in Baghdad. Among his students in Nishapur was Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī ( IV. BB. 9 ) who had also been a student of Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya and who was later to become a professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

When al-Ghuzz invaded Nishapur in 1153, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya was one of the scholars who were massacred by them in their reprisals against the inhabitants of that city. Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sukhtinī ( IV. AA. 23 ) appears to have been among the few lucky scholars who were captured by the al-Ghuzz but later released on the personal intercession of the Seljūq Sultan Sanjar.<sup>3</sup>

In 1159, when rioting broke out between the Shāfi'ites and the Ḥanafites on the one side and the forces of the 'Alid Abū-'l-Qāsim Zayd, the governor of Nishapur, on the other, and

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1. Subk., V, 40; see below, (Lists Nos. I.B.2), 618, 630.

2. Ibid., IV, 198-320; Dubaythī, al-Mukhtasar., 165; see below, (List Nos. I.B.2), 618, 630.

3. Subk., IV, 246.

the Sunnite forces were defeated, most of the madrasas belonging to the two Sunnite sects were pillaged and destroyed.

Libraries were burnt. Those scholars who were not already killed by al-Ghuzz and who escaped the governor's wrath, fled to more peaceful cities where they could continue their studies undisturbed.<sup>1</sup>

After these events, there are no more great names in the academic life of Nishapur.

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1. See above, 464.



THE JURISTS AND THE THEOLOGIAN (1100-1225)

## Z

THE HANAFITE JURISTS

## Z.1 Abū-Ja'far al-Faqīh

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥīm ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur. He studied jurisprudence there under his father Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan ʿAbd-ar-Raḥīm. He then went to Marw, where he continued to study jurisprudence, before returning to Nishapur to attend the assemblies presided over by Shaykh-al-Islam Muḥammad ( IV. Z. 2 ), when he wrote down some traditions dictated by this Shaykh. He then became noted as a Ḥanafite jurist and died in 1125.<sup>1</sup>

## Z.2 Shaykh-al-Islam Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṣāʿid ibn-Muḥammad. He was the grandson of the famous Ḥanafite leader Qāḍī Ṣāʿid ( III. R. 6 ). He was born in 1053 in Nishapur. He was taught traditions by his father Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad ( III. R. 12 ) and his paternal uncle Yahya (III.R.9). Like some other members of his family, he occupied the position of qāḍāʾ of Nishapur and received the laqab of Shaykh-al-Islam which was the laqab of his paternal grandfather Ṣāʿid. He also inherited the leadership of the Ḥanafites which was previously occupied by Qāḍī Ṣāʿid and by his father Abū-Naṣr. He died in Nishapur in 1132-3.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., II, 80.

2. Ibid., II, 80.

## Z.3 Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naysābūrī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh Ibn-Abī-Bakr Ibn-Abī-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Nishapur. He read the book of ash-Shamā'il by at-Tirmidhī under Abū-Ṭāhir al-Ismā'īlī and became the transmitter of this work. He was noted as the chief jurist of the Ḥanafite school in Nishapur and as among the most brilliant conductors of nazar discussions of that school. He died in 1157.<sup>1</sup>

## Z.4 Al-Burhān

His name was Maṣṣūr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ṣā'id ibn-Muḥammad. He was a member of the most eminent Ḥanafite family in Nishapur, the Ṣā'idīs, and was the son of the leader of the Ḥanafites, Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad (IV. Z. 2). Al-Burhān was born in 1082. He heard traditions from his father and his paternal grandfather Abū-Naṣr ( III. R. 12 ). He was appointed qāḍī of Nishapur and, during his qāḍiship, the city enjoyed relative stability and good government. It is related that he met the Shāfi'ite scholar Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) several times; two of their meetings were in 1135 and 1157. He died in Nishapur in 1157-8.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Jaw., I, 272; Siyāq., f.84a.

2. Jaw., II, 182.

Z.5 Al-Kharqī<sup>1</sup>

His name was 'Abd-ar-Rahmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was born in Nishapur about the year 1076. He went to Bukhārā where he stayed studying jurisprudence and collecting traditional information. He heard traditions, probably in Bukhārā, from Muḥammad al-Bazdawī Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad ar-Riḡdhamūnī. Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) is said to have written down traditions from him. He died in 1158.<sup>2</sup>

Z.6 Ar-Riḍā an-Naysābūrī<sup>3</sup>

His name was al-Mu'ayyad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī. His kunya was 'Abū-'l-Ḥasan and his laqab was Riḍā-ad-Dīn. He belonged to a family who had originally come from Ṭūs, but as they had resided in Nishapur for some time, he received the nisbas at-Ṭūsī and an-Naysābūrī. He was born in 1130. Nothing is known about the teachers who taught him jurisprudence, but, according to Ibn-Khallikān, he studied traditions under a number of eminent scholars; he heard the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I A. 28 ) taught by Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV.Y.9), the Ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī ( I.A.23 ) taught by the masters Abū-Bakr Wajīh ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 13 ) and Abū-'l-Futūḥ 'Abd-al-Waḥḥāb ash-Shādhyākḥī, the Muwatta' of Mālik taught by Abū-Muḥammad

1. The nisba al-Kharqī was probably derived from the name of a village called Kharq which is regarded geographically, by Yāqūt, as a village within the boundaries of Nishapur..

M B, II, 425.

2. Jaw., I, 305.

3. He is also known as al-Mu'ayyad at-Ṭūsī.

Hibat-Allāh ibn-Sahl al-Bisṭāmī and traditions taught by Abū-'l-'Abbās Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭūsī. He is also known to have read the Tafsīr al-Qur'ān (al-Kashf) composed by Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī III.W.2) and to have studied under a number of other scholars in Nishapur, among whom were Abū-Muḥammad al-Khuwārī (IV. AA. 17) and Umm-al-Khayr Fāṭima (IV. DD. 3).<sup>1</sup>

He was famous in his time for possessing traditions of which the isnāds were so high that he delivered a great number of traditions and students came to him from all the different quarters of Nishapur. Ibn-Khallikān relates that he possessed an ijāza from al-Mu'ayyad which the latter had sent him from Khurasan. He died in Nishapur in 1220.

Al-Mu'ayyad is regarded by Ḥajjī-Khalīfa and Ibn-Abī-'l-Wafā as a Ḥanafite professor, famous because of his method of controversy, which was named after him ar-Riḍāwiyya. Eminent students graduated under him and themselves became famous scholars; amongst them were ar-Rukn al-'Irāqī, who became the founder of a new method of naẓar discussions, and the well-known Ḥanafite scholar ar-Rukn Imām-Zāda.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I Kh., II, 143-4; Shadh., V, 78.

2. Jaw., II, 263; H Kh., I, 1113.

AA

THE SHĀFI'ITE JURISTS

## AA.1 Abū-'l-Fath al-Arghiyānī

His name was Sahl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-'Alī. He was born in 1039 in Arghiyān. Al-Arghiyānī studied jurisprudence at Marw-ar-Rūdh under al-Qāḍī al-Ḥusayn with whose system of doctrine he became well acquainted. He then went to Tūs and studied the principles of jurisprudence and their interpretation under Shāhfūr al-Isfarā'inī. In Nishapur he studied theology and attended the lectures of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ) at which he took part in the discussions. He returned to Arghiyān where he was appointed qāḍī for some years. On retiring from that post, he made a pilgrimage to Mecca and became acquainted with great jurists of Iraq, Ḥijāz and Jibāl, from whom he received traditions and to whom he communicated others. On leaving Mecca, he went to visit the mystic al-Ḥasan as-Simnānī and was advised by him to abandon the practice of discussing points of jurisprudence. On his return to Nishapur he followed the counsel of his adviser, confined himself to his house and lived in solitude. Then he built with his own money a monastery for the mystics, in which he resided and composed his works and practised devotions until his death, which occurred in 1105.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., III, 169; Muntazam., IX, 146; M B , I, 209; Ans., f.26a; Lub., I, 33. According to Ibn-Khallikān, Abū-Naṣr's first teacher was Abū-'Alī as-Sinjī under whom he studied jurisprudence in Marw; I Kh., I, 275.

## AA.2 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Muẓaffar. He was a native of Khawāf, which is a town within the boundaries of Nishapur, famous for its enormous number of villages. He studied in Nishapur first under 'Alī ibn-Ibrāhīm aḍ-Ḍarīr and then under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He became one of the favourite students of the latter teacher and was admired for his assiduity in learning and his eloquence in speech. Subsequently he became renowned for his knowledge of Shāfi'ism and, during the time of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn, he became famous as a teacher of that doctrine. As-Subkī notes that his contemporaries had such a high opinion of him that they used to say of him that he was earning his living from conducting discussion assemblies as al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) was from his writings. He was appointed qaḍī of Ṭūs, where he died in 1106.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.3 Abū-'l-Maḥāsin ar-Rūyānī

His name was 'Abd-al-Walīd ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. His laqab was Fakhr-al-Islām. He was born in 1024-5 in a small town called Rūyān in Ṭabaristān. He studied the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence first under his

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1. Siyāq., f.35b; M B, II, 486; Lub., I, 392; Ans., f.210b; Subk., IV, 55; cf. Smith, Al-Ghazālī the Mystic, 60.

father Ismā'īl, then under Nāṣir al-'Umarī ( III. S. 11 ) in Nishapur and finally under Abū-Naṣr al-Kārizī. He also learned traditions in the cities of Āmul, Nishapur, Bukhārā, Ghazna, Marw, Mecca, Medina and Baghdad from a number of eminent masters of traditions among whom were Abū-'l-Futūḥ aṭ-Ṭā'ī and Abū-Ṭāhir as-Sulafī. He became distinguished as a Shāfi'ite jurist and it was said that he knew by heart all the works of the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī.

He was held in high respect by the Seljūq Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, and, probably through his influence, was appointed qādī of Ṭabaristān. He also performed the duties of professor of the Niẓāmiyya madrasa of Ṭabaristān. In the last period of his life he moved to Āmul, the administrative centre of Ṭabaristān, where he built a madrasa. He was killed in 1108-9 in the mosque of Āmul when the city was conquered by the Ismā'ilites.<sup>1</sup>

Ar-Rūyānī was renowned for his writings. The most famous of his books dealt with the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence and was entitled al-Baḥr. According to as-Subkī, however, most of the material for this book was extracted from the Hāwī by as-Māwardī, which is better known for its arrangement and style, but ar-Rūyānī added some commentaries. Another of his works on jurisprudence was al-Hilya and some of

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1. Subk., IV, 264-5; Shadh., IV, 4; Lub., I, 482;  
Ans., ff.263a-b; Muntazam, IX, 160.

the precepts given in this book, according to Ibn-‘Imād, conform with the doctrines of the Mālikites. As-Subkī gives some useful extracts from al-Hilya.

Some of ar-Rūyānī's other works are listed by as-Subkī and they include al-Furūq, at-Tajriba, Mutaqāḍī ash-Shāfi‘ī, al-Kāfi, and others.<sup>1</sup> His books al-Baḥr and al-Hilya are extant.<sup>2</sup>

#### Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-‘Umar. He was known as Fakhr-al-Islam. He was also known as al-Mustazhirī, probably because he was the author of al-Mustazhirī; and his family belonged to Shāsh; hence he received the nisba ash-Shāshī. Ash-Shāshī was born in Mayyāfārīqīn in 1037. He began studying jurisprudence in his place of birth under Abū-‘Abd-Allāh Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī and later under al-Qāḍī Abū-Manṣūr, the qāḍī of Mayyāfārīqīn. He then went to Baghdad and attached himself to the famous jurist Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III.S.20 ), under whose tuition he pursued his studies. He also studied a book on jurisprudence called ash-Shāmil under its author Abū-Naṣr aṣ-Ṣabbāgh. He accompanied his teacher Abū-Ishāq to Nishapur and there he discussed with great ingeniousness various questions of jurisprudence in the presence of Imām al-Ḥaramayn ( III.T.9 ). He later returned to Baghdad. On the death of his master Abū-Ishāq, he had such a reputation in

1. Subk., IV, 265-8; Shadh., IV, 4.

2. G A L, I, 486; G A L S, I, 673.



Baghdad as an eminent jurist that he became the chief of the Shāfi'ites there. In 1110-1, he was appointed professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa of Baghdad. His predecessors in that post were his former teachers Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī and Abū-Naṣr aṣ-Ṣabbāgh, Abū-Sa'd al-Mutawallī and Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ). However ash-Shāshī seems to have occupied the chair as professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa till his death in 1114. He was buried at ash-Shīrāzī gate, near the tomb of his master Abū-Ishāq.

Ash-Shāshī, who is regarded by Ibn-Khallikān as the foremost Shāfi'ite jurist of his time, was also the author of a number of books:

1. Hilyat al-'ulamā' fī madhāhib al-fuqahā'
2. Al-Hilya (continuation of No.1)
3. Al-Mustazhiri.
4. Al-'Umda fī furūq ash-Shāfi'iyya.
5. Talkhīṣ al-qawl.

Nos. 1, 4 and 5 are extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### AA.5 Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad. His laqab was Tāj-al-Islām. He was the father of the famous scholar Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ). Abū-Bakr was born in Marw in 1074. He studied Arabic literature during his childhood under his father. Then he travelled widely

1. I Kh., I, 588; Siyāq., I, 58b; G A L, I, 489; G A L S, I, 674.

learning traditions. In Baghdad he heard traditions from Thābit ibn-Bundār and from the latter's contemporaries, in Nishapur from Naṣr-Allāh al-Khushnāmī. He also learned from many shaykhs in Iṣpahān, Kūfa and Ḥijāz. When his son Abū-Sa'd ( IV. Y. 17 ) was a child he took him in 1115 to Nishapur. Then a year afterwards he died in his native place of Marw.

Abū-Bakr was an able Shāfi'ite jurist and traditionist. He wrote many works and composed some good poetry, but none of his writings are named by his biographers.<sup>1</sup>

#### AA.6 Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭā'ī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ḥātim ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Ṭūs but he studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ), then he set out on a long journey to Iraq, Syria, Ḥijāz and Thughūr, during which he heard traditions from many masters whose names are given by as-Subkī. He came back to Nishapur where he spent the rest of his life and died in 1118.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 379; Lub., I, 9; Subk., IV, 259.

2. Ibid., IV, 67.

## AA.7 Ash-Shabbāk

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-al-Muṭahhar. His kunya was Abū-Ṭāhir. He was a native of Gurgān. He came to Nishapur and studied under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He became acquainted with Abū-Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and together they went to Iraq, Ḥijāz and Syria. Then he returned to his native city of Gurgān and started teaching and preaching in that city; he later had a madrasa built for himself. He was killed in 1119.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.8 Abū-'l-Ma'ālī aṭ-Ṭūsī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Razzāq ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-'Alī ibn-Ishāq. His father was a layman and a landowner from Ṭūs, but 'Abd-ar-Razzāq was born in Nishapur in 1066. He was taught traditions in this city by Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī ( III. V. 12 ), Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī (III. S. 25) and by others. Then he attended the lectures of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) which were probably given in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. He acquired a sound knowledge of jurisprudence and became noted as a master of speculative discussions. He was subsequently appointed as a professor of the Niẓāmiyya madrasa which his paternal uncle, the vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, had founded. He followed the same career as his uncle and became attached to the Seljūq officials in Nishapur. He was then appointed vizier to the Seljūq Sultan,

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1. Subk., IV, 200; Siyāq., f.37a.

Sanjar ibn-Malik-Shāh. He stayed in this post for some time but continued to attend the assemblies of the notable scholars of Nishapur and to participate in their discussions. He died in Sarakhs in 1121.<sup>1</sup>

#### AA.9 Al-Aghmāṭī

His name was Mūsā ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm. His kunya was Abū-Hārūn. He was a native of Aghmāṭ, which was a town situated in the West of Morocco.<sup>2</sup> Al-Aghmāṭī left his country and travelled widely in the East, where he passed through the countries of Egypt, Hijaz, Iraq, Jibāl, Khurasan and Transoxiana. In Khurasan he stayed in Nishapur as a pupil of Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ). In 1122, he came to Samarqand where he wrote down the works of Abū-Ḥafṣ ‘Umar as-Samarqandī from the author. His travels lasted about 13 years and during this time he gathered information and became noted as a jurist, a traditionist and an eloquent poet. He returned to Morocco where he died some time after the year 1122.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 254.

2. For the nisba "al-Aghmāṭī", see Lub., I, 62; Ans., f.45b.

3. Ibid., f.46a; Subk., IV, 314.

## AA.10 Al-Abīwardī

His name was Hāshim ibn-‘Alī ibn-Ishāq ibn-al-Qāsim. He was born in 1058 at Abīward. He studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He also learned traditions in this city from Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī ( III. V. 12 ). He then learned traditions in Mecca, Baghdad, and Āmul from al-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭabarī and Abū-’l-Maḥāsīn ar-Rūyānī ( IV. AA. 3 ). He died in his birth place of Abīward in 1128-9.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.11 Abū-’l-Ghanā’im al-Mūshīlī

His name was Ghanā’im ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was of a Christian family. He received the nisba of al-Mūshīlī, probably from the name of one of his ancestors called Mūshīl, which is, in Arabic, Mūsā. Abū-’l-Ghanā’im was a native of the district of Urmawa in Adharbayyjan but he came to Baghdad, where he studied jurisprudence under the master Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III. S. 20 ) and learned traditions from Ibn-Hazārmard aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī. In Nishapur he continued his studies of jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). It is reported that he held speculative discussions, probably in Nishapur, with Abū-Sa’d al-Mutawallī, in which he demonstrated his superiority. He died in his native place of Urmawa in 1030.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 320.

2. Subk., IV, 296-291; Lub., III, 189; Ans., f.544b.

## AA.12 Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1062-3 in Arghiyān. He left the place of his birth and went to Nishapur to study under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). He reached some distinction through his knowledge of jurisprudence and was regarded as the chief jurist of the Shāfiʿite sect. He gained a high reputation as a muftī and as a pious man. In addition to this, he is known to have learned traditions in Nishapur from Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ) and Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shirāzī ( III. V. 12 ), among others. He died in 1134 in Nishapur. He was famous for his fatwās which were called al-Arghiyāniyya, and although Ibn-Khallikān was doubtful for a time as to whether they were those of Abū-Naṣr himself or of his brother, Abū-ʿl-Faṭḥ Sahl ( IV. AA. 1 ), he appears to have finally proved beyond all doubt that they were in fact written by Abū-Naṣr.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.13 As-Sayyidī

His name was Hibat-Allāh ibn-Sahl ibn-ʿUmar, though he was better known by the appellation as-Sayyidī, which was derived from the title of his grandfather, as-Sayyid Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan al-Hamadhānī. He also received the kunya of Abū-Muḥammad. It is said that the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III.T.9 ) was his father-in-law.

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1. I Kh., I, 588; Subk., IV, 70-71; Muntazam., X, 40;  
M.B., I, 209., II, 742; Wafī., III, 348.

As-Sayyidī was a native of Nishapur, born in 1041. He was taught traditions there by the most eminent masters of the city, such as Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdī ( III. X. 13 ), Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and Abū-'l-Ma'ālī 'Umar al-Bisṭāmī.<sup>1</sup> He was held in high esteem as a jurist and as a scholar noted for his abilities and piety but few traditions seem to have been delivered by him. However some distinguished scholars have delivered traditions on his authority, such as the Syrian scholar al-Ḥāfiẓ Ibn-'Asākir and the Nishapurians Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) and al-Mu'ayyad aṭ-Ṭūsī ( IV. Z. 6 ). He also gave ijāza to Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Khurāskānī, permitting him to deliver traditional information on his authority. He died in Nishapur in 1138 and was buried in the cemetery of al-Ḥīra.<sup>2</sup>

#### AA.14 Al-Aḥdath

His name was 'Umar ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was the brother of Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī ( IV. AA. 12 ). He was born in about 1149 in Arghiyān. He came to Nishapur where he studied jurisprudence under Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( IV. T. 9 ). He was also taught traditions in Nishapur by Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( IV. V. 8 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-

1. As-Subkī mentions that as-Sayyidī was taught traditions by Abū-'Uthman al-Ḥirī ( II. N. 2 ); this is chronologically rejected; Subk, IV, 321.

2. Ibid., loc.cit.; Shadh, IV, 103.

Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ) and by others. He became known as a Shāfi'ite jurist. He died in Nishapur in 1139.<sup>1</sup>

AA.15 Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sam'ānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-as-Sam'ānī. He was the son of Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī ( III. S. 25 ) and the paternal uncle of Abū-Sa'd ( IV. Y. 17 ), the writer of al-Ansāb. Abū-'l-Qāsim was born in 1094, most probably in Nishapur. He studied jurisprudence under his brother Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ( IV. AA. 5 ). Then he went to Sarakhs and Marw with his nephew Abū-Sa'd. In 1134 he left Marw with his nephew who wished to study the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ). Later Abū-'l-Qāsim abandoned his companionship with his nephew and returned to Marw, where he died in 1139.

Abū-'l-Qāsim was renowned as a muftī as well as a good poet. He composed what his nephew regarded as excellent poems but none of his compositions has survived.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 287.

2. Ibid., IV, 56.



## AA.16 Abū-Sa'd al-Būshanjī

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Wāhid ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Muḥammad. He was the son of the famous scholar of Būshanj, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Būshanjī. He was born in 1069. As a youth he came to Nishapur and he attended the assemblies which were held by the jurists of that city. He heard also traditions from Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhḥin ( III. Q. 62 ), Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī. ( III. V. 12 ) and others. After making the pilgrimage to Mecca, he came via Baghdad to Marw where he resided in the Nizāmiyya madrasa. He taught traditions in this city and it is reported that Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) heard traditions from him. Then he came to Herat and resided in this city until his death in 1141. Abū-Sa'd was renowned as a jurist with a great ability in conducting discussion assemblies. He was also the writer of a book on jurisprudence which was entitled al-Mustadrak. Ar-Rāfi'ī is believed to have quoted examples from al-Mustadrak in his work al-Jāmi', but al-Mustadrak is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.17 Al-Khuwārī

His name was 'Abd-al-Jabbār ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-Muḥammad. He was born in 1053 in Khuwār, which was one of the villages belonging to the district of Bayhaq. He studied jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III.T.9 ). He also heard traditions from Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī ( III.Q.54 ),  
1. Subk., IV, 205-207.

al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III.V.8 ), Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Juwaynī ( III.V.7 ) and from others. Al-Khuwārī had the privilege of becoming the imām of the famous mosque al-Manī'ī in Nishapur. He became distinguished as a Shāfi'ite jurist who was well acquainted also with jurisprudence and it is reported that he also gave fatwas in Nishapur. He died in 1141.<sup>1</sup>

#### AA.18 Ad-Dāmghānī

His name was 'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1061 in Dāmghān which was a city in the province of Qūmis.<sup>2</sup> He came to Nishapur where he studied jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) and also heard traditions from him. He was taught traditions in the cities of Nishapur, Harāt, Gurgān and Dāmghān, by the Vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk, Abū-'l-Qāsim ibn-Mis'ida, Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ash-Shīrazī ( III. V. 12 ) and by others. He was appointed qāḍī in his native city Dāmghān. He died in this place in 1150.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 243; Shadh., IV, 113; M B, II, 479.

2. Ans., f.219b; Lub., I, 406; According to Yāqūt, Dāmghān is the name of the city which is situated on the route between Rayy and Nishapur, M B, II, 539.

3. Subk., IV, 260-261

## AA.19 Sharafshā

His name was Sharafshā ibn-Malikdād. He was from Khurasan and came to Baghdad where he studied jurisprudence in the Nizāmiyya madrasa. Then he came to Nishapur and continued his studies under Muḥammad ibn-Yahya ( IV. AA. 22). He took Nishapur as his place of residence. He taught jurisprudence and gave fatwas in this city till his death in 1151.

Sharafshā was a jurist. He wrote a treatise in two chapters on khilāf but this treatise is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.20 Abū-'l-Faṭḥ ad-Duwīnī

His name was Naṣr-Allāh ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Sahl. He was a native of Duwīn which is a small town in Adharbayjān. He came to Baghdad, where he first studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), before moving to Nishapur where he learned traditions from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Madīnī, Abū-Bakr Aḥmad as-Sarrāj (III. Q. 70 ), 'Abd-al-Wāḥid al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 1 ) and others. Then he taught traditions in Balkh and Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17 ) wrote down two volumes of traditional information from him. He became reputed as a jurist of the Shāfi'ite system. He died in Balkh in 1151.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 229.

2. Ans., f.234a; Lub., I, 432-3; M B, II, 632;  
Subk., IV, 319-320.

## AA.21 Abū-Bakr al-Būshanjī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Bashshār al-Kharjirdī. He was born in 1169 in Kharjird which is a town within the district of Būshanj. He studied jurisprudence in the neighbouring city of Herat under Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ash-Shāshī (IV. AA. 4) and then later, probably, in Nishapur under Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī ( III. S. 25 ). Finally he studied it in Marw under Abū-'l-Faraj az-zāz. He also heard traditions from the above-mentioned masters. He visited Nishapur for the second time but this time to teach jurisprudence in the Bayhaqiyya madrasa. As-Subkī mentioned that he was living for a time an ascetic life in Nishapur. Then he went to Ṭabaristān. From this place he began a pilgrimage to Mecca, from which he returned to Nishapur, where he died in 1151.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.22 Muḥammad ibn-Yahya

He is well known by the name mentioned above. His kunya was Abū-Sa'īd and his laqab was Muḥyī-ad-Dīn. He was born in Ṭuraythith in 1083/4. He studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī ( IV. AA. 2 ), who had both been pupils of al-Juwaynī ( III. T. 9 ). He became renowned as such an eminent Shāfi'ite jurist that he was recognised as the chief of the Shāfi'ites in Nishapur.

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1. Lub., I, 353; Ans., f.193a; M B, II, 420;  
Subk., IV, 50.

He gave lectures on jurisprudence in the Niẓāmiyya madrasas of both Herat and Nishapur, but it was at the latter madrasa that his reputation as a teacher was founded. Students came from all the Islamic countries to study under him in Nishapur and most of the important scholars in Nishapur during the first half of the twelfth century are known to have attended his lectures. Among those who did were Ibn-Faḍlān ( IV. AA. 37 ), Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabarī (IV. CC. 4), Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭālaqānī ( IV. AA. 35 ), Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī ( IV. BB. 9 ), Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysābūrī ( IV. AA. 30 ) and al-Khubūshānī ( IV. AA. 34 ).

Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya composed a number of books, some on jurisprudential principles and others in defence of his sect. Two of his most famous works are al-Intiṣāf fī masā'il al-khilāf, which was a treatise on some of the controversial aspects of the Shāfi'ite doctrines, and al-Muḥiṭ, which was a commentary on the work of his master al-Ghazālī, the Wasīṭ. But his books are no longer extant.

In 1153 when the al-Ghuzz invaded Nishapur, Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya was massacred along with countless other inhabitants of the city.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 197-8; I Kh., I, 589-590; Shadh., IV, 151; cf. Smith, AL-Ghazālī the Mystic, 64-5.

## AA.23      Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sakhtinī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Abd-aṣ-Ṣamad ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and there he first studied jurisprudence under Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ). He is also known to have heard traditions from him and from others, including Abū-Sa'd al-Ḥirī, Abū-Bakr as-Sarwī and Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. When he went to Mecca, he became acquainted with 'Abd-al-Malik aṭ-Ṭabarī and while he was there he read the Mukhtaṣar of Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī ( III. S. 9 ). He taught for a time in Baghdad on certain controversial problems before returning to Nishapur where he went into retirement. When the al-Ghuzz invaded Nishapur in 1153 he was captured, but on the intercession of the Seljūq Sultan Sanjar he was released. He then went to Shahrastān where he died after an illness. He was known as a scholar who was well acquainted with the different subjects of jurisprudence, traditions and the differences of opinion between the sects.<sup>1</sup>

## AA. 24      Al-Kharjirdī

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-Naṣr. He was born at about 1096 in Kharjird which is a town in the district of Būshanj. Al-Kharjirdī studied jurisprudence in Nishapur,

1. Subk., IV, 246.

Herat and Marw, his principal teachers being Ismā'īl al-Kharjirdī and Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī. He studied khilāf under 'Umar ibn-Muḥammad as-Sarakhsī. He also learned traditions from the Nishapurian scholar Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV. BB. 3 ) and others. Al-Kharjirdī became renowned as an able jurist, but he was also acquainted with other subjects such as history, literature and particularly poetry. Al-Kharjirdī was killed by the Ghuzz when they sacked the city in 1153.<sup>1</sup>

AA. 25 Abū-Muḥammad al-Kūfanī

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Maymūn ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was born in 1196-7 in Kūfan, which was a small town built by the governor 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Ṭāhir in the district of Abīward. Al-Kūfanī learned jurisprudence probably in Marw under Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī ( IV. AA. 5 ). He heard traditions in Nishapur from 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Shīruwī ( IV. Y. 6 ) and others. Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī( IV. Y. 17 ) heard one tradition from him. However, al-kūfanī became renowned as a jurist and dialectician. He died in 1156-7.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 247-8; M B, II, 420.

2. Subk., IV, 241; Shadh., IV, 29-30; M B, IV, 321.

## AA.26     Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār

His name was 'Umar ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Manṣūr ibn-al-Qāsim. He was the son-in-law of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III. V. 8 ). He was born in 1084 in Nishapur and there studied traditions under Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī, Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Anṣārī, Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ash-Shīrazī ( III. V. 12 ) and Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ), among others. On his return from his pilgrimage to Mecca in 1147, he stayed in Baghdad to lecture on the work of Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī at-Taysīr fi't-tafsīr and the biographies of the mystics by Ibn-Bākuwayhi ( III. V. 3 ). He also gave lectures on the principles of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence. He died in Nishapur in 1158.

Abū-Ḥafṣ was noted as a master of the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence. Ibn-'Imād informs us that he was referred to as being equal in stature with the Shāfi'ite jurist Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) and adds that he had a deeper knowledge and understanding of the principles of that jurisprudence than had the latter.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.27     Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bāqarḥī

His name was 'Abd-al-Wahīd ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was a native of Baghdad and received the nisba of al-Bāqarḥī from his paternal grandfather who had been a

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1. Subk., IV, 285; Shadh., IV, 168.



famous scholar of the village of Bāqarḥ in Baghdad.<sup>1</sup> Abū-'l-Faṭḥ studied jurisprudence in Baghdad under Ilkiya-al-Harrāsī ( IV. BB. 1 ) and then in Nishapur under Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and under Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ). He became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and a man of letters. Through the favour of the Seljūq Sultan Sanjar he was appointed a principal of the Nizāmiyya madrasa of Baghdad in 1123, but it appears that he was not a good lecturer and his friend the Sultan Sanjar eventually had to dismiss him and replace him, by As'ad al-Maydīnī. He died in Ghazna in 1158.<sup>2</sup>

AA.28 Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Khawāfī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Muẓaffar. He was born in 1091, in Khawāf, which is a district in Nishapur famous for its enormous number of villages. He came to Nishapur where he studied jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) and where he also studied traditions under Ibn-Mas'ūd al-'Utbi, 'Abd-al-Ghāfir ash-Shīruwī ( IV. Y.6 ) and others. He became famous as a jurist and as a master of nazar discussions. For a time he acted as professor in the Nizāmiyya madrasa of Nishapur. He died in his native place of Khawāf in 1160-61.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See the nisba "al-Bāqarḥī", Ans., ff.61a-b; Lub., I, 90.

2. Subk., IV, 268-9.

3. Ibid., 308.

## AA.29 Abū-Manṣūr al-Wa'īd

His name was Muḥammad ibn-As'ad ibn-al-Ḥusayn ibn-al-Qāsim. His father was a grocer in Ṭūs. Al-Wa'īd was born in 1093 in Nishapur. He went to Ṭūs, where he studied jurisprudence under Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), in Marw under Abū-Bakr Muḥammad as-Sam'ānī ( IV. AA. 5 ) and in Marw-ar-Rūdh under al-Ḥusayn al-Baghawī. Mention is also made that he heard tradition from many masters in Khurasan. Al-Wa'īd became renowned as master of jurisprudence and khilaf between the sects. He taught for a while in Marw, then he came to Nishapur and when the Ghuzz invaded Nishapur in 1153 he left and went for a long journey. He visited Iraq, Adharbayjān and al-Jazīra. In all these countries he taught traditions among a large number of auditors. Lastly he went to Khurasan, settled in Marw and died in this city in 1177.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.30 Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysabūrī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-Ṭāhir. His kunya was Abū-'l-Ma'ālī but he was known by his laqab Quṭb-ad-Dīn. His father belonged to Ṭuraythīth, a district which is situated on the outskirts of Nishapur. He was born in 1112. He studied the Qur'ān under his father and jurisprudence under eminent masters in Nishapur and Marw. At first, he studied

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1. Subk., IV, 65-66.

under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) in Nishapur and then under 'Umar as-Sultān and Ibrāhīm al-Marwazī in Marw. He met the master Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ). He gave lectures in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa of Nishapur while acting as assistant to his teacher Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya. He came to Baghdad and from thence he went to Damascus in 1145-6 and taught there in the Mūjādiyya madrasa and afterwards, on the death of the jurist Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Miṣṣīṣī, in the al-Ghazālīyya corner of the mosque in Damascus. He later went to Aleppo and taught there some time in the two madrasas founded there by Nūr-ad-Dīn Maḥmūd and Asad-ad-Dīn Shīrūh. Subsequently Quṭb-ad-Dīn went to teach at Hamadān, but later returned to<sup>1</sup> Damascus and resumed his lectures in the Ghazālīyya corner and al-Jārūkhiyya. He became chief of the Shāfi'ites there and died in Damascus in 1183. Quṭb-ad-Dīn was an eminent jurist of great ability in jurisprudence. His summary of jurisprudence, al-Hādī, was regarded as his most useful work and it contained the maxims which served as the basic fatwas. He wrote this treatise for the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn, the founder of the Ayyūbid dynasty. It is thought that it also contained all the necessary information on Islamic religion.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 309; Shadh., IV, 263; I Kh., II, 120; according to as-Subkī, Quṭb-ad-Dīn returned back to Baghdad and from thence he proceeded to Hamadān. Subk., IV, loc.cit.
  2. Ibid., IV, 10; I Kh., II, loc. cit.; Shadh., IV, loc.cit.

## AA.31 Al-Qazwīnī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-al-Karīm ibn-al-Faḍl ibn-al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He was a native of Qazwīn and the father of the famous scholar ar-Rāfiʿī. Al-Qazwīnī studied jurisprudence in his native city under Malikdād ibn-ʿAlī and in Nishapur under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ). He came to Baghdad where he continued his studies on that subject under Abū-Manṣūr ibn-ar-Razzāz. Al-Qazwīnī was remarked on as a distinguished jurist and muftī. His son, ar-Rāfiʿī, frequently mentioned him in his book al-Amālī and said that the distinguished jurists of Qazwīn attended his lectures on the Qurʾān. Some of al-Qazwīnī's fatwās were rejected by al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) but ar-Rāfiʿī, in his book aṭ-Ṭalāq, stated they were regarded as sound fatwās. Al-Qazwīnī died in 1184-5.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.32 Al-Imām Abū-Ḥamid al-Qazwīnī

His name was ʿAbd-Allāh ibn-ʿImrān. He was a native of Qazwīn. He came to Nishapur with the object of studying jurisprudence under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) and he then went to Baghdad to continue these studies under Yūsuf ad-Dimashqī. He also heard traditions from Abū-ʿl-Faḍl al-Urmawī and Ibn-Nāṣir al-Ḥafīz among others and subsequently taught traditions in Qazwīn. It is known that Abū-ʿl-Qāsim

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1. Subk., IV, 79-80; Dubaythī, al-Mukhtaṣar, 73-5.

ar-Rafi'ī and others heard traditions from him in that city. He died in 1189.<sup>1</sup>

#### AA.33 Abū-'l-Futūḥ al-Labbād

His name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He studied jurisprudence in this city under Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī ( IV. BB. 3 ), and in Marw under Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī ( IV. AA. 5 ). In the later period of his life, he took the vow of mysticism. He died in 1190.<sup>2</sup>

#### AA.34 Al-Khubūshānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-al-Muwaffaq ibn-Sa'īd ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Ḥasan. His kunya was Abū-'l-Barakāt. He was born in 1116 at Ustuwā, which was near the district of Khubūshān of Nishapur. He studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ) and he also knew by heart al-Muḥiṭ, which was his master's commentary on the Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ). In 1169 he went to Egypt and when the Sultan Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn, became the sovereign of Egypt, he took al-Khubūshānī into his favour and treated him with honour. It is related that it was on his advice that the Sultan built the madrasa which was situated near the tomb of the Imām ash-Shāfi'ī and, in 1176-7,

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1. Subk., IV, 242.

2. Ibid., IV, 248-9.

al-Khubūshānī was appointed to it as a professor.<sup>1</sup> In spite of al-Khubūshānī's attachment to the Ayyūbid officials of Egypt, it appears that he gave the warmest political support to the 'Abbāsīd Caliph of Baghdad. On the other hand he preached with hostility against the common enemy of the Sunnites, the Mahdīds rulers of Maghrib. One remarkable episode in his life is mentioned by as-Subkī and Ibn-'Imād, who state that al-Khubūshānī was the person who caused rioting in Cairo when he ransacked the tomb of the Ḥanbalite Ibn-al-Kayrānī.

He died in Cairo in 1191 and was buried at the foot of the tomb of ash-Shāfi'ī.

Al-Khubūshānī was a Shāfi'ite jurist as well as a mystic. Nothing is known about his mystic shaykhs. However he was regarded as a remarkable Shāfi'ite jurist. His treatise Tahqīq al-muhīt was an investigational treatise of jurisprudence on the works of his teacher Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya. He wrote it during his discipleship under the latter. Ibn-Khallikān states that he himself had seen a copy of Khubūshānī's treatise in sixteen volumes, but his works are no longer extant.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 190; I Kh., I, 597; Ibn-Jubayr, Rihlat Ibn-Jubayr, 48.

2. Subk., IV, 191-2; I Kh., I, loc.cit.; Shadh., IV, 288; Miftah., II, 210.

## AA.35      Abū-'l-Husayn at-Ṭālaqānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-Yūsuf ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-'Abbās. He was born in 1118 at Ṭālaqān, a town around Qaswīn.<sup>1</sup> Hence he received the two nisbas at-Ṭālaqānī and al-Qazwīnī. He studied the system of Shāfi'ite jurisprudence in his place of birth, under 'Alī ibn-Malikdād ibn-'Alī. Then he came to Nishapur where he continued his study of jurisprudence under Muḥammad ibn-Yahya ( IV. AA. 22 ). In Nishapur, he also heard traditions from Zāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 12 ), 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Qushayrī ( IV. Y. 11 ), 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ), Wajīh ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 13 ) and others. Mention is also made of many of the teachers who taught him in Baghdad.

At-Ṭālaqānī became noted as a Shāfi'ite jurist and a professor. He taught for a time in Ṭālaqān. Then he moved to Baghdad where he was appointed professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. He taught there most of the famous works of that time which were written by Nishapurians. These works include Tar'ikh 'ulama' Naysābūr of al-Ḥākim ( III. Q. 3 ), the Sunan of al-Buyhaqī ( III. Q. 54 ), the Saḥīḥ of Muslim ( I. A. 28 ) and the Musnad of Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya ( I. C. 1 ). Beside his duties in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa he conducted assemblies in Baghdad in which he dictated traditions. He then returned to Ṭālaqān where he stayed for the rest of his life, teaching and dictating traditions three days a week until his

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1. Ans., 363b; Lub., II, 76-77; M B, II, 491-492. There was another Ṭālaqān in Khurasan situated between Marw-ar-Rūdh and Balkh. Ibid., loc. cit.

death, which occurred in 1193. Aṭ-Ṭālaqānī was held in high esteem in Ṭālaqān and Baghdad as a Shāfi'ite professor. He also wrote a book on jurisprudence in 1169 which was entitled Jawāhir al-Quds. A brief specimen of his work is given by as-Subkī.<sup>1</sup>

AA.36 Abū-'l-Muẓaffar ibn-'Asakir

His name was 'Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was born in 1154, probably in Nishapur, where he studied jurisprudence under al-Quṭb an-Naysābūrī ( IV. AA. 30 ) and others. He taught traditions in Egypt, Damascus and other places. He also taught jurisprudence in Nishapur and acquired some reputation from his ability in presiding over discussion classes. He also collected forty sound traditions. He was assassinated in Cairo in 1194.<sup>2</sup>

AA.37 Ibn-Faḍlān

His name was Yaḥya ibn-'Alī ibn-al-Faḍl. His kunya was Abū-'l-Qāsim and his laqab was Jamāl-ad-Dīn. He was born in 1121 in Baghdad. He studied jurisprudence there under Abū-Manṣūr ibn-ar-Razzāz and in Nishapur under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ), the pupil of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ).

1. Subk., IV, 26-7;

2. Ibid IV, 236.



He became famous as a Shāfi'ite jurist and a master of khilāf and dialectics. He obtained the rank of chief of the Shāfi'ites of Baghdad. He died in 1198.<sup>1</sup>

AA.38 Al-Jājarmī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Ibrāhīm ibn-Abū-'l-Faḍl as-Sahli. His laqab was Mu'īn-ad-Dīn and his kunya was Abū-Ḥamid. He was a native of Jājarm, hence he received the nisba of al-Jājarmī. While a student he studied traditions in Nishapur under 'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ), but he subsequently became noted not as a traditionist but as an eminent Shāfi'ite jurist and displayed his greatest ability in the various branches of that science. He settled in Nishapur and taught jurisprudence in that city. In 1216, when Ibn-Khallikān was visiting Nishapur, he heard al-Jājarmī lecturing on the text of Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III. S. 20 ), the Muḥadḍab, and a number of other jurists attended these lectures, because al-Jājarmī was a well-known jurist and famous author. One of his treatises on jurisprudence, called al-Kifāya fi 'l-fiqh, which consisted of only one volume, dealt with most of the questions which were raised by the mystics. His Idāḥ al-wajīz was probably written as an attempt to elucidate the Wajīz of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and consists of two volumes. Ibn-Khallikān regarded it as

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1. Subk., IV, 320; Shadh., IV, 321.

an excellent work. Al-Jājarmī was also the authority on a well-known system of khilāf, and on the gawā'id in jurisprudence. It is related that in the same year that Ibn-Khallikān visited Nishapur the death of al-Jājarmī occurred.<sup>1</sup>

AA.39      Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Juwaynī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Umar ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Juwayn. He studied jurisprudence in Nishapur under his father-in-law, al-Quṭb-an-Naysābūrī ( IV. AA. 30). He also studied under the eminent scholar Abū-Ṭalīb al-Iṣbahānī, in Iṣpahan. Then he went to Syria, Iraq and Egypt. He taught in the dome of ash-Shāfi'ī in Cairo and in the mashhad of the Imām al-Ḥusayn in Kūfa. He was reputed to be a great jurist and a professor and it is related that his fame attracted the Caliph of Baghdad, who appointed al-Juwaynī as his messenger to the Crusaders during the battle of Dimyāṭ. But al-Juwaynī died in Mosul in 1220-21, before accomplishing his mission.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I Kh., I, 603; Shadh., V, 56; Subk., IV, 19;  
Wafi., II, 8.

2. Subk., V, 40.

## AA.40 Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār

His name was al-Qāsim ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-‘Umar. His laqab was Shihāb-ad-Dīn. He was born in 1138. Abū-Bakr learned traditions in Nishapur from his grandfather Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār ( IV. AA. 26) and from Wajīh ash-Shahḥāmī (IV.Y. 13), ‘Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ), and Hibat-ar-Raḥmān al-Qushayrī (IV.Y.15). In Nishapur, he became a professor of jurisprudence and taught the public and students from notable families. The standard text for his lessons was the Wasīṭ of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) and he is believed to have taught it over forty times. He was renowned not only as a professor but also as a jurist and as the muftī of Nishapur. He was killed by the Mongols when they invaded the city in 1221.<sup>1</sup>

## AA.41 Abū-Shujā‘ al-Arghiyānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-‘Umar ibn-‘Abd-Allāh ibn-Muḥammad. He was born in 1096-7 in a village called Rawnīrī in the district of Arghiyān. He came to Marw to learn jurisprudence under ‘Amr ibn-Muḥammad as-Sarakhsī and Ibrāhīm al-Marw-ar-Rūdī. When he finished his studies, he came to Nishapur, where he acted as imām in the mosque of ‘Aqīl after the death of his paternal uncle Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī ( IV. AA. 12). He became noted as a preacher and he also delivered a few traditions. His death is not recorded by either of his biographers.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., V, 148.

2. Ibid., IV, 92.

THE ASH'ARITES AND THE SHĀFI'ITE JURISTS WHO WERE ASH'ARITE  
IN THEOLOGY

BB.1 Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Alī at-Ṭabarī. His kunya was Abū-'l-Ḥasan and his laqab was 'Imād-ad-Dīn. He was a native of Ṭabaristān and was born in 1058-9. It is known that he was handsome and had a clear voice with which he expressed himself in an elegant and agreeable manner. Leaving his place of birth, he came to Nishapur and it is reported that he studied jurisprudence and also probably theology along with his friend al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. Al-Fārisī, who was one of their contemporaries called him a second Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī and, although he thought that al-Ghazālī had the keener and quicker mind of the two in arguments and exposition, he found Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī to be more profound in speculative discussions and more satisfactory in his explanations and reasons for his views. It is also related that when Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī was a student in the Sarhank madrasa in Nishapur he used to commit to memory his notes and repeat it at each step of the qanāt in that madrasa and he appears to have continued this practice while at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa although there were seventy steps. The Imām-al-Ḥaramayn made him an assistant tutor for a time but

when he had finished his studies in Nishapur he moved to Bayhaq where he gave lectures.<sup>1</sup> Later he came to Iraq, in 1098, and was appointed the chief professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad. While he was in Baghdad he entered the service of Barkiyāruq, who was the son of the Seljūq Sultan, Malik-Shāh, and acted as a diplomatic envoy between Barkiyāruq and the Caliph al-Mustazhir.<sup>2</sup> He was so highly regarded that he was appointed qādī al-quḍāt of Baghdad. He died in Baghdad in 1116.<sup>3</sup>

Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī is known to have been a Shāfi'ite jurist and an Ash'arite theologian. According to Ibn-Khallikān he also had a great knowledge of traditions and he used to cite them appropriately in his assemblies and discussions.

Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī composed several legal works; the following are given by his biographers;

1. Shifā'al-mustarshidīn. According to as-Subkī this is the best book written on the subject of khilāfiyyāt. As-Subkī gives many useful excerpts from this work.
2. Naqd Mufradād Ibn-Hanbal.
3. at-Ta'liq fī uṣūl al-fiqh.
4. Uṣūl ad-dīn.

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1. 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī quoted by as-Subkī, Ibn-Khallikān, Ibn-'Asākir and Ibn-'Imād; Subk., IV, 281-2; I Kh., I, 412; TKM, 288-9. In the selection of aṣ-Ṣarīfīnī to the book as-Siyaq li-ta'rīkh Naysābur, 116b, al-Fārisī gives a brief note. Also, a brief note is given by Ibn-al-Jawzī; Muntaẓam., IX, 167. cf. Smith, AL-Ghazālī the Mystic, 61.

2. Kāmil., XI, 197.

3. I Kh., I, 413; TKM, 289.

5. Aḥkām al-Qur'ān. It is recorded by Brockelmann and an-Nadawī that Nos. 4 and 5 are extant.<sup>1</sup>

BB.2 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī

His name was Salṃān ibn-Nāṣir ibn-'Imrān ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He earned his living from being a clerk in the library of the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. For a time he was associated with the mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and learned the path of mysticism under him. Al-Anṣārī went for a long journey to Ḥijāz, Baghdad and Syria and visited the holy mashhads of these places. He returned to Nishapur, where he was introduced to the study of theology by his teacher, the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ). Then he became renowned as a theologian, mystic, and commentator. During the last period of his life he remained secluded from the other people in the library of the Niẓāmiyya madrasa. He died in 1118.

Al-Anṣārī was noted as a scholar of great ability in many branches of Islamic sciences. He was also a writer, his most important work being Sharḥ al-irshād fī uṣūl ad-dīn, which was a commentary on the Irshād of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn. As-Subkī gives excerpts from some of his writings, in which

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1. Subk., IV, 282; Ḥ Kh., I, 423., II, 1569; Nadawī, Tadhkirat an-nawādir, 25; G A L, I, 489; G A L S, I, 674.

he gives some of the theological differences between Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī and his opponent Abū-Hāshim al-Jabbā'ī.<sup>1</sup>

### BB.3 Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī

His full name was 'Abd-ar-Raḥīm ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was the son of the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ) and in Nishapur, under his father, he studied arithmetic and Arabic. On the death of his father in 1076, the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn ( III. T. 9 ) became his teacher and he assiduously attended the lectures of his teacher, until he had acquired a sound knowledge of his method of dealing with the Shāfi'ite system of jurisprudence and Ash'arism . According to as-Subkī, he remained a disciple of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn until the latter's death in 1085. As-Subkī also names other teachers of Abū-Naṣr by whom he was taught traditions: amongst them were Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣābūnī ( III. Q. 48 ) and both his mother, Fāṭima ( III.V.13 ), and his father, Abū-'l-Qāsim.<sup>2</sup>

He moved to Baghdad where he held regular assemblies at which he delivered many excellent lectures. Ibn-'Asākir gives excerpts from these lectures. A number of eminent Baghdadian scholars, such as Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III. S.20 ) and Abū-Sa'd aṣ-Ṣūfī, were present at these assemblies. Abū-

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1. Subk., IV, 222-3; Shadh, IV, 34.

2. Subk., IV, 249-250; T K M, 308; I Kh., I, 377;  
Siyaq., f.94a.

Naṣr also gave lectures in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad and these indicated that he was a zealous follower of the teachings of al-Ash'arī, which brought him into conflict with the Ḥanbalites on various points of theological doctrine.

On his return from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Abū-Naṣr again visited Baghdad, in 1076. According to Ibn-Rajab, who is a Ḥanbalite writer, when Abū-Naṣr returned, he presided over an assembly held in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, during the course of which he alleged that the Ḥanbalites held heretical views of corporal things and Qadarism. This was strenuously denied by the Ḥanbalites themselves, who were led by ash-Sharīf and Abū-Ja'far al-Hāshimī, whose paternal uncle, the Caliph of Baghdad, al-Muqtadī, was himself a Ḥanbalite sympathizer, and, in the arguments that followed, riots broke out. According to Ibn-Rajab, the riots took place in the mosque of the Ḥanbalite ash-Sharīf and in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa and as a result many were wounded and one person was killed. According to Ibn-Khallikān, however, a number of lives were lost on both the Ash'arite and the Ḥanbalite side. When the news of this disturbance reached the ears of the powerful Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, who was then in Iṣpahan, he ordered the arrest of the Caliph's cousin, the Ḥanbalite leader al-Hāshimī, and the latter was imprisoned until his death in 1077. According to Ibn-an-Najjār, the Ash'arite leader, Abū-Naṣr, was exiled to Nishapur, but this contention is rejected by both the Shāfi'ite writers and by the Ḥanbalite



writers such as Ibn-Rajab and Ibn-al-Jawzī. According to most of his biographers, Abū-Naṣr appears to have been treated with respect and to have been summoned to Iṣpahan to meet the Vizier, Niẓām-al-Mulk, where he was given a guard of honour to escort him to Nishapur. On his arrival in Nishapur, Abū-Naṣr continued his lecturing and other duties until his death there in 1120.<sup>1</sup>

#### BB.4 Abū-Sa'd al-Mu'adhdhin

His name was Ismā'īl ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Malik. He was the son of the famous traditionist Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin ( III. Q. 62 ). Abū-Sa'd was born in 1059-60 in Nishapur. He studied jurisprudence under the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III. T. 9) and Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī ( III. S. 25 ). He also heard traditions from his father and from the Nishapurian mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). The names of many others from whom he heard traditions are given by as-Subkī; among them is Abū-Sa'd al-Kanjarūdhi (III.X.13) who gave him ijāza to deliver traditions.

Abū-Sa'd came to Baghdad in 1127 when the ḥāfiẓ Ibn-'Asākir heard traditions from him. He then went to Kirman

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1. Ibn-Rajab, adh-Dhayl 'alā ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanābila, I, 19-22.

Ibn-an-Najjār quoted by Ibn-Rajab; op.cit., I, 20; al-Kutubī, Fawāt-al-wafayāt, 559-560; Subk., IV, 251-252; Shadh., IV, 45; I Kh., I, 377-78; T K M, 307-320; see in detail and further references about the struggle between the Ḥanbalites and the Ash'arites in Baghdad, Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 107-108, 195n.

and took up residence there where he was held in high respect by the inhabitants, including the governor of the city, as a man of culture and scholarship. He died in this city in 1136-7.

Abū-Sa'd, unlike his father, devoted himself to the science of jurisprudence. He is also included by Ibn-'Asākir among the Ash'arite theologians, but he was regarded more as a master and imām of jurisprudence.<sup>1</sup>

#### BB.5 al-Kharqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn Ibn-Abī-Bishr. He was born in 1077 in one of the villages of Nishapur called Kharq, hence his nisba al-Kharqī.<sup>2</sup> He studied jurisprudence and the principles of theology in Nishapur but none of his masters are mentioned by his biographers. He learned traditions in Nishapur under Abū-Bakr Aḥmad ash-Shīrāzī ( III. V. 12 ) and others. As-Sam'anī ( IV. Y. 17 ), who delivered traditions on his authority, remarks that he was noted as a theologian and jurist. He returned to his native village of Kharq, where he preached until his death there in 1138.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 204.

2. See 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Kharqī ( IV. Z. 5 ).

3. Subk., IV, 61.

## BB.6 Ash-Shahrastānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-ʿAbd-al-Karīm ibn-Aḥmad. His kunya was Abū-ʿl-Faṭḥ. He was born in 1076 in Shahrastāna, a town situated between Nishapur and Khwārizm at a distance of three miles from Nasā. In the early stage of his life he lived in Khwārizm. Then he moved to Nishapur, where he studied jurisprudence under Aḥmad al-Khawāfī (IV. AA. 2 ) and Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV. BB. 3 ). In theology he had as a teacher Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (IV. BB. 2). In 1116-7, he made the Pilgrimage at Mecca, then he came to Baghdad and resided there three years, during which period he taught in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa and preached with a great deal of public success. He died in his place of birth in Shahrastāna in 1153.<sup>1</sup>

Ash-Shahrastānī wrote several books, among which the most famous is his treatise on religions and sects. This treatise was written in 1127 and is still extant. It is called Kitāb al-milal waʿn-niḥal and deals with the same topics and has the same name as a book written by Ibn-Ḥazm, although as-Subkī regards ash-Shahrastānī's book as being far superior in both in arrangement and style, and adds that Ibn-Ḥazm does not appear to have known of the ash-Shahrastānī system of theology, which is Ashʿarite in origin. In his treatise, ash-Shahrastānī classifies all the philosophical and religious

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1. M B, III, 342; Ans., 341b; Lub., II, 35; I Kh., I, 610-611; Shadh., IV, 149; cf. A L, 268.

systems of which he was aware, according to their divergence from the Sunnite Muslim. For example, he begins with the Muslim sects, the Mu'tazilites, Shi'ites and Bāṭinites and so forth. He then gives a brief account of the doctrines held by the 'People of the Book', aḥl al-kitāb, such as the Christians and Jews. Next he deals with those religious sects which were founded on divinely-revealed writings, such as the Magī and the Dualists. In his treatise he includes an article on the philosophical system of Plato which Carra de Vaux regards as quite good and which indicates that he appears to have understood Plato's theory of Ideas and probably to have had a much more general knowledge of Greek philosophy.

Among his other writings was a work on speculative theology, the Nihāyat al-iqdām fī 'ilūm al-kalām. He also wrote a treatise on metaphysics entitled Muṣāra'at al-falāsifa, which was probably inspired by a work of al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), the Tahāfut al-falāsifa, and a history of philosophers called Tar'īkh al-ḥukamā'. He wrote another book entitled Mafātīḥ al-asrār wa maṣābiḥ al-abrār. All the works mentioned above are extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 78-9; I Kh., I, 610-11; Carra de Vaux, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Shahrastānī"; G A L, I, 550-51; G A L S, I, 762-63; A L, 268-9.

## BB.7 Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Anṣārī

His name was Naṣr ibn-Salmān ibn-Nāṣir. He was born in Nishapur in 1095. He heard traditions from his father and from Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Madīnī, al-Faḍl ibn-'Abd-al-Wāḥid at-Tājir and from others. He became the foremost master of theological discussions among his contemporaries and composed many works on theology, but none of them are named by his biographers. He became the chief secretary in the avqāf department of the Seljūq Sultan Sanjar and was frequently sent by him as a diplomatic envoy to the foreign kings. He died in 1162 at Marw.<sup>1</sup>

## BB.8 Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Nūqānī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abī-'Alī Ibn-Abī-Naṣr. He was born in 1122, in Nūqān, which was the name of one of the districts of Ṭūs. He came to Nishapur where he studied jurisprudence under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya (IV. AA. 22 ). He then went to Baghdad and resided there. He taught in the Qaysarāniyya madrasa, which was founded by the mother of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph an-Nāṣir. He became noted in various subjects such as jurisprudence, theology, dialectics and logic. It is related that he taught in Baghdad the Arba'īn of his master Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya. He died in 1195.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 317-8.

2. Ibid., IV, 198; Dubaythī, al-Mukhtaṣar., 165.

## BB.9      Abū-‘Alī al-Wāsiṭī

His name was Yaḥya ibn-ar-Rabī‘ ibn-Sulaymān. His laqab was Fakhr-ad-Dīn. He was born in Wāsiṭ in 1133. He studied jurisprudence first under his father, then in the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad under Abū-Najīb as-Suhrwardī, and finally in Nishapur, where he studied for two years with his friend Ibn-Faḍlān ( IV. AA. 37 ) under the master Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ). He also learned traditions in this city from Zāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 12 ) who gave him an ijāza to teach traditions. He was taught traditions in Baghdad, Herat and Ghazna. He became noted as a scholar of the jurisprudential principles, theology, arithmetic, the law of inheritance and dialectics as well as for having an excellent knowledge of traditions. In Nishapur, he was appointed as professor in the Nizāmiyya madrasa. He was then sent as a diplomatic envoy from the officials of Khurasan to the Ghūrid Sultan Shihāb-ad-Dīn at Ghazna. Then he returned to Baghdad, where he died in 1209.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., V, 165; Shadh., V, 23-4.

## BB.10 Al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī

His name was Ibrāhīm ibn-‘Alī ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Morocco but he lived in Egypt. He travelled in pursuit of knowledge throughout Khurasan and he found Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, a teacher who taught him theology and one of whose pupils he became.

At the later stage of his life he resided in Nishapur. He became noted as a master of logic and a distinguished Ash‘arite theologian. Al-Quṭb seems to have been killed by the Mongols when they sacked Nishapur in 1221. He wrote many works on theology and philosophy and one of them was called al-Qubliyyāt which is no longer extant.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Subk., V, 48.

## IV

THE MYSTICSAL-GHAZĀLĪ

The most important figure in the field of mysticism in the whole history of Islam lived in the twelfth century; he was Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ). His influence in Islam was so great in his own lifetime that, by comparison with him, the importance of other mystics in Nishapur is insignificant.

Among those other mystics in Nishapur were the son of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ), Abū-'l-Faḥ al-Qushayrī ( IV. CC. 3 ), who followed his father's path, and the theologian al-Anṣārī ( IV. BB. 2 ) who also followed the path of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī.

The importance of al-Ghazālī is measured by the fact that he is credited by Ibn-Khaldūn with being the one who made "the science of mysticism available to others as a written science whereas previously it had been merely a worshipping path".<sup>1</sup> The reduction of mystical doctrines and disciplines to writing was of immeasurable significance throughout Islam. Al-Ghazālī's most famous works on mysticism were written from his own personal experience,

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1. Ibn-Khaldūn, Muqaddima, 392.



commencing with the Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn. The Iḥyā' remained his most important work for the devout and practising mystic and Watt described it as "a complete guide for the devout Muslim to every aspect of religious life and worship and devotional practices, conduct in daily life, the purification of the heart and advances along the mystic way".<sup>1</sup> In his later books he dealt more specifically with mystical doctrines and, according to Smith, it is these works which must be held to represent his final conclusions drawn from his personal experiences and meditations. Among such works are Rawḍat aṭ-ṭalibīn, al-Ma'ārif al-'aqliyya, Mishkāṭ al-anwār, Mizān al-amal, Mukāshafāt al-qulūb and ar-Risāla al-luduniyya.<sup>2</sup>

Among the many mystics in Islam who were influenced by al-Ghazālī and who followed his teachings was his pupil, the Spanish mystic, Muḥyī-ad-Dīn Ibn-al-'Arabī (d. 1240), who refers to his teacher as being one of the sources for his book al-Ajwiba. Some of Ibn-al-'Arabī's mystical writings bears such a close resemblance to those of al-Ghazālī that it has been possible for more than one of Ibn-al-'Arabī's students to attribute to their teacher the work of al-Ghazālī, such as the Risāla al-luduniyya.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī".

2. Smith, Al-Ghazālī the Mystic, 227.

3. Ibid., op.cit., 209-214; Watt., E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Ibid., "The Authenticity of the Works attributed to al-Ghazālī", J R A S, (1952), 34; cf. A L, 277-278.

Al-Ghazālī also had a great influence on the conduct of mystical practices and in particular those of the great mystic 'Abd-al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (d. 1168). In his books, al-Jīlānī follows the teachings of al-Ghazālī and he probably taught from his books when he was professor of Abū-Sa'd ibn-al-Mubārak's madrasa in Baghdad. As a result of al-Jīlānī's teachings one of the most famous paths of mysticism in Islam, the Qādiriyya, was named after him. Al-Jīlānī's disciples in Baghdad built a monastery for the novices to this path.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ghazālī's influence not only prevailed throughout the Islamic East and West but was also marked upon medieval Jewish thought in Spain, since, according to Smith, his ethical doctrines were of a type and standard which closely resembled that of Judaism. His works were carefully studied by Jewish writers and even by medieval Christian scholars in Christian Spain and Italy.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the range and extent of al-Ghazālī's influence, his teachings have been criticised, both during and after his lifetime, by other theologians and traditionists who were against the mystical movement. Among his contemporaries, the Shāfi'ite scholar and traditionist, 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī ( IV. Y. 8 ), criticised al-Ghazālī's mystical doctrines even though he was himself a grandson of the famous

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1. Smith, AL-Ghazālī the Mystic, 204-205; cf. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 177; AL, 273-274.

2. Smith, op.cit., 217-226.

mystic, Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). His criticism of al-Ghazālī's Persian version of the Iḥyā', called the Kīmīyā' as-sa'āda, was based on two points; firstly that it contained undesirable Persian words, and, secondly, that the book itself contained principles which were fundamentally opposed to those of the sharī'a and of Islam in general.<sup>1</sup>

Another scholar who opposed al-Ghazālī was the famous Ḥanabalite traditionist, Ibn-al-Jawzī. He was one of the most formidable of al-Ghazālī's critics, claiming that the Iḥyā' was written on the basis of mystical doctrines supported by false traditions and founded upon revelation and that it departed from the sharī'a. He compiled a book on the collection of errors that he had found in the Iḥyā' and called it I'lām al-iḥyā' bi ighlāṭ al-iḥyā' and he also expressed his criticism of al-Ghazālī's teachings in his book Talbīs iblīs.<sup>2</sup>

In Audalusia, the qāḍī of Cordova, Abū-'Abd-Allāh Muḥammad ibn-Ḥamdīn, had all of al-Ghazālī's writings, including the Iḥyā', condemned as heretical and burnt.<sup>3</sup> In Morocco, the Imām Abū-'l-Ḥasan, known as Ibn-Ḥarrāzhim, issued

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1. Siyāq., f.20b.

2. Muntaẓam., IX, 169-170; Ibn-al-Jawzī, Talbīs iblīs, 166.

3. This statement is given by Muḥammad Riḍā and quoted by Smith in her work, AL-Ghazālī the mystic, 198-9.

a fatwā that the Iḥyā' was a heretic work against the sunna and orders were subsequently given to burn copies of that book.<sup>1</sup>

However, al-Ghazālī has had greater influence upon those who accepted his teachings than upon those who criticised him. This is borne out by the large number of summaries of the Iḥyā' and commentaries upon it, commencing with his brother Aḥmad's work, the Lubāb al-iḥyā', and followed by those of many other traditionists and theologians.<sup>2</sup> More than anything else this testifies to the deep impression made by the Iḥyā' and to the reason why the book is still, even today, read widely in all the Islamic world.

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1. Miftāḥ., II, 201; Subk., IV, 113-114.

2. G A L S, I, 748.

THE MYSTICS (1100-1225)

## CC.1 Al-Ghazālī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He had the kunya of Abū-Ḥāmid and is known by his nisba al-Ghazālī.<sup>1</sup> He was born in Tūs in 1058. The nature of his father's occupation seems to be largely a matter of conjecture, since these scholars who consider that he was a spinner or seller of wool derive their inference from

1. The nisba of this distinguished scholar is now generally written with a single "z", as al-Ghazālī, but its derivation (of it) has engaged the argumentative faculties of scholars for centuries. There are basically two views on the matter: those who maintain that the original spelling of the nisba was Ghazzālī and hence that it derives from the occupation of spinning, ghazzāl, 'a spinner', and those who maintain that it is correctly spelt with only one "z" which could indicate that it derives from Ghazāla, which in turn, according to some authorities, was a village near the town of Tūs. Among the early supporters of the former view are an-Nawawī, adh-Dhahabī, Ibn-al-Athīr, and Ibn-Khallikān. Among those who support the second view are aṣ-Ṣafadī, Dawlatshāh and as-Sam'ānī; supporters of "z" al-Ghazālī himself quoted by Ṣafadī, Wafī., I, 277-15; Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat as-shu'arā', 110; as-Sam'ānī as quoted by Ibn-Khallikān and rejected by the latter; I Kh., I, "Aḥmad al-Ghazālī", 35. The supporters of "zz", Ibn-al-Athīr; Lub., II, 170; Ibn-Khallikān., ibid., loc.cit.; an-Nawawī, adh-Dhahabī, Ibn-al-Athīr, Ibn-Khallikān as quoted by Ṭāsh-Kūpre-Zāde; Miftāḥ., II, 204 on the other hand Ṭāsh-Kūpre-Zāde gives the opinion of aṣ-Ṣafadī; ibid., loc.cit., Ibn-'Imād gives views of a number of writers in favour of "zz"; Shadh., IV, 11. Further references and the opinions of recent writers are given by Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 181-183, 200n.

a particular rendering of the spelling and interpretation of the nisba of al-Ghazālī,<sup>1</sup> but it is apparent at least that al-Ghazālī was born into a family which had some connections with intellectual circles. His paternal grandfather, Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad, also called Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī, is known to have been a jurist in Ṭūs and to have died in 1043.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ghazālī was not the only child in the family. In addition to having several sisters, he had a brother called Aḥmad who later became a distinguished scholar and mystic and who died in 1126.<sup>3</sup> Al-Ghazālī's father died while al-Ghazālī was still a boy but before his death he had made provision for his two sons to be brought up and educated by one of his mystic friends. However, when the money provided for their education was exhausted, their appointed guardian advised the two boys to go and live in the madrasa, where they were apparently provided with free board and lodging and where their education was continued. Thus it was that, while still only a young boy, al-Ghazālī began to study jurisprudence first under the Shaykh Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ar-Rādhakānī in Ṭūs and then under Abū-Naṣr al-Ismā'īlī in Gurgān.<sup>4</sup> He returned to Ṭūs to study the

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1. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 20.

2. Subk., III, 36; according to as-Sam'ānī his name was Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. Therefore it is undoubted that he was the paternal grandfather of al-Ghazālī, Ans., 416a.

3. Subk., IV, 54-55; ibid., IV, 102-104; I Kh., I, 34.

Watt, op.cit., 20; Smith, Al-Ghazālī the Mystic, 10.

4. Subk., IV, 103; Miftāḥ., II, 192-3.

theories he had heard and to digest the notes he had taken of the lectures he had attended, and it also seems probable that, during the three years he stayed in Ṭūs, he began to study mysticism more thoroughly under the spiritual direction of a pupil of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jurjānī, Abū-Bakr Yūsuf an-Nassāj.<sup>1</sup>

In 1077,<sup>2</sup> al-Ghazālī, attracted by the fame and reputation of the famous theologian, Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Juwaynī (III. T. 9 ), left Ṭūs and came to stay in Nishapur. He joined the classes of al-Juwaynī at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa and

1. According to Jāmī, Abū-Bakr Yūsuf an-Nassāj was a native of Ṭūs and the pupil of Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jurjānī. The latter was a follower of a group of Mystics who introduced into Khurasan the path of al-Junayd al-Baghdādī. An-Nassāj is related to be the spiritual director of Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī and his brother Aḥmad. According to Dawlatshāh, al-Ghazālī's first contact with an-Nassāj was during his childhood, therefore it is probable that al-Ghazālī was introduced to Mysticism before his visit to Gurgān and continued during his last three years stay in Ṭūs before he went to Nishapur; Naf., 370; Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 110; Miftāḥ., II, 195-207. cf. Macdonald, "The Life of al-Ghazzālī", J A O S , 20 (1899), 89.
2. This approximate date is given by Watt; Watt, Muslim Intellectual, "Chronological table", 201; Watt also presumes that al-Ghazālī begun his studies in Ṭūs in 1069, then he went to Gurgān in 1073. The period of three years that al-Ghazālī spent in Ṭūs before his departure to Nishapur was between 1074-77. Watt., op.cit., loc.cit.

there studied theology and other standard dogmatic subjects such as philosophy, logic and dialectics.<sup>1</sup> While he was still a student under al-Juwaynī, al-Ghazālī wrote a short legal work entitled al-Mankhūl, and, although the story may be doubted, it is said that, on reading this work, al-Juwaynī instantly recognised its superiority over all his own works.<sup>2</sup>

During this period, al-Ghazālī appears to have also continued his studies of mysticism and his research into the mystic way of life under the famous mystic Abū-'Alī al-Fārmadhī ( III. V. 11 ).<sup>3</sup>

On the death of his teacher al-Juwaynī, in 1085, al-Ghazālī moved into the camp of the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk, where he was received with much respect and favour. At this time, in the court of the Vizier, assemblies were frequently held for discussions and debates and through attendance at these assemblies al-Ghazālī was able to meet some of the most eminent of the scholars of his age; in the debates in which he participated he soon displayed such great ability that he assumed the leadership among his fellow scholars. He continued like this for several years until the Vizier had him appointed

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1. al-Juwaynī was al-Ghazālī's best known teacher since he is mentioned by all his important biographers; Subk., IV, 103; TKM, 291-292; I Kh., I, 586; Siyāq., f.20b; Wafī., I, 274; Miftāḥ., II, 193; Muntaẓam., IX, 168, Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat-as-shu'arā', 110; Shadh., IV, 10.

2. Muntaẓam, loc.cit.

3. Naf., 370; Subk., IV, 109.



as a professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad in 1091.<sup>1</sup>

When he took up his appointment as professor at the Niẓāmiyya madrasa, his lectures attracted large classes of over 300 students, including some of the leading savants of the time, such as the Ḥanbalites Ibn-ʿAqīl and Abū-ʿl-Khaṭṭāb and the famous Nishapurian jurist Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya (IV. AA. 22). His reputation as a scholar was such that he became known as the Imām of Iraq as well as of Khurasan.<sup>2</sup> Despite the pressure of work that his lecturing involved, he continued to study philosophy and it was during this time that he wrote the Maqāṣid al-falāsifa and Tahāfut al-falāsifa and his treatise against the Baṭīnites, al-Mustazhirī.<sup>3</sup>

After four years at this pressure of work, al-Ghazālī had a nervous breakdown in July 1095 and in November 1095 he left Baghdad under the pretext of making a pilgrimage to Mecca but in fact intending to abandon his career as a professor. There has been speculation, from that time until the present day, as to the motives which would induce him to abandon his professorship. Al-Ghazālī himself gave as his reason his realisation that his appointment as a professor was not conducive to the spiritual life, that he found himself

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1. Subk., IV, 103-4; I Kh., I, 587; Miftāḥ., II, 193.

2. Ibn-Rajab, adh-Dhayl ʿalā ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanabila, I, 144; Subk., IV, 113; Miftāḥ., II, 193.

3. See below, 574

working not solely in the service of God but also for his own worldly ambitions for wealth and fame, and that consequently he feared his spiritual downfall and damnation.<sup>1</sup>

Some recent scholars have attributed his decision to leave his post in Baghdad to much more mundane considerations. Macdonald suggests that certain trends in the political events at the time might have contributed to his decision. He reminds us that in 1092 the Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk was assassinated and shortly afterwards, in the same year as Malik-Shāh was murdered, a civil war broke out between different factions of the ruling family of the Seljūqs. In 1095, Barkiyāruq executed his uncle Tutush, who had been supported by the Caliph and hence presumably by al-Ghazālī, and it was not long before Barkiyāruq's own death in 1105 that al-Ghazālī returned to teach in Nishapur.<sup>2</sup> Watt however doubts that these considerations played a large part in al-Ghazālī's decision and writes: "There may be a grain of truth in the suggestion, however, in so far as the vicissitudes of the years after 1092 and the need for maintaining a delicate balance on the political tight-rope may have helped to convince al-Ghazālī that nothing of what he was interested in could be achieved through politics and his semi-political position in Baghdad".<sup>3</sup>

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1. Miftāḥ, II, 197; Watt, The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī, 57-8.

2. Macdonald, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī".

3. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 140-141.

Another scholar, Jabre, suggests that al-Ghazālī was mainly afraid of the Bāṭinites, who had murdered Niẓām-al-Mulk in 1092 and whom he had attacked in his writings. This suggestion is also doubted by Watt who thinks that al-Ghazālī was not in very great danger from the Bāṭinites since assassination was not adopted by them as a regular activity until after 1095 and in any case the obvious candidate for assassination would have been the Caliph and not a distinguished scholar.<sup>1</sup>

Watt relies, in the main, upon the reason given by al-Ghazālī himself to explain his sudden departure from Baghdad - his dissatisfaction with the conditions in which he had to work and with the quality of the life that was possible for the leading professor in Baghdad. Watt finds circumstantial evidence to support his view in suggesting that this dissatisfaction is the key to the understanding of al-Ghazālī's life and points to its predominance in the Ihyā' 'ulum ad-dīn.<sup>2</sup>

The attempt to give the main or predominant reason for al-Ghazālī's decision will perhaps always remain in the realms of speculation but there can probably be no doubt that all the reasons suggested played some part, in varying degrees, in his coming to the decision. One of the more obvious

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1. Jabre quoted by Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 141.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 142-3.

factors that could have played its part, along with the others, might have been the exhaustion which led to his nervous breakdown in July of the year of his departure. For four years he had been lecturing to overcrowded classes, writing books and studying, - and all this without taking into account the other official duties which were demanded of him as a holder of a religious and a semi-political position at a time when it was certainly not very auspicious for him to be a muftī. The pressure of these various influences upon al-Ghazālī led to feelings of dissatisfaction with the type of life he was forced to lead and the post he had to occupy.

On leaving Baghdad, al-Ghazālī lived quietly in Damascus, until near the end of 1096, when he felt fit enough to proceed to Jerusalem and, after a stay of several weeks in that city, to continue his pilgrimage to Hebron, Medina and Mecca, where he attended the pilgrimage celebrations in November - December 1096.<sup>1</sup> He returned to Damascus, but

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1. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 145-47; al-Ghazālī himself tells us that he spent two years in Damascus while his contemporary biographer al-Fārisī reports that al-Ghazālī stayed ten years in this city. However Ibn-al-Jawzī reports that al-Ghazālī came to Baghdad in 1097 on his way back to his 'waṭan' Khurasan; al-Ghazālī's statement quoted by Ṭāsh-Kūpre-Zade, Miftāḥ., II, 198. See also Jabre statement, that al-Ghazālī was seen in Baghdad, quoted by Watt, op.cit., 145; al-Fārisī statement is quoted by as-Subkī, Subk., IV, 108; see also, Siyāq., f.20b. Ibn-al-Jawzī statement, Mutazam., IX, 87.

no later than June 1097 he had returned to Baghdad. This investigation was carried out by Watt and indicates that al-Ghazālī spent most of the 18 months from November 1095 to June 1097 in Damascus, if the time taken for his pilgrimage is also included. Watt also thinks that the period of ten years given by some of his biographers as the time from his departure from Baghdad to his making arrangements for his return to teach in Nishapur in 1105 was spent in Damascus. If the report of several early writers is correct that al-Ghazālī visited Alexandria from Damascus, it is probable that the visit was made on the way to or from Mecca and that it was only of a short duration.<sup>1</sup>

During this period of retirement in Damascus, al-Ghazālī lived the life of a poor ascetic, wearing coarse cloth and devoting most of his time to his devotions. For long periods of time he remained in solitude and was thus able to continue writing. According to Ibn-al-Jawzī he commenced writing his most famous book the Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, while he was in Jerusalem and he finished it in Damascus. It may also have been possible for him to have lectured on a section of it, to a selected audience.<sup>2</sup>

A short time before 1099, on his journey back to Ṭūs, al-Ghazālī was persuaded to stay for a time in Baghdad and to teach his latest work, the Iḥyā'. He still, however,

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1. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 147.

2. Muntazam., IX, 169; Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 111.

lived a life of semi-retirement and he continued to live like that when he finally reached Tūs, possibly in 1099.<sup>1</sup>

He occupied himself with meditating and giving spiritual help and guidance to those who visited him. Since he was already famous for his books and writings, his authority was unquestioned and he was still held in great esteem by his contemporaries. During the course of the years 1105 and 1106 he was finally persuaded by the son of Niẓām-al-Mulk, Fakhr-al-Mulk, the present Vizier of the Sultan Sanjar, to accept the appointment as professor in the Niẓāmiyya madrasa in Nishapur. He arrived in Nishapur sometime in 1106 and, while he was teaching in the madrasa, he composed his autobiographical work, al-Munqidh min aḍ-ḍalāl.<sup>2</sup>

His new appointment, however, was short-lived. In 1106 or 1107, his sponsor, the Fakr-al-Mulk, was assassinated. According to Smith, it was then that al-Ghazālī decided to leave Nishapur and visit the Sultan of Morocco, Yūsuf ibn-Tāshfīn, but on hearing of the death of the Sultan in the same year, he abandoned his project.<sup>3</sup> He appears, however, to have stayed on in Nishapur until possibly 1110, when he once more retired to his home in Tūs and established a madrasa for

1. Muntazam., IX, 87. The date of his arrival to Tūs is given by Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 6, and Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 201.

2. Subk., IV, 108; Miftāḥ., II, 194, 200; cf. Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings", J A O S , 79 (1959), 232; Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 147.

3. Subk., IV, 104; Smith, AL-Ghazālī the Mystic., 33.

the study of jurisprudence and a khanqāh for mystics.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Ghazālī died in 1111 at the age of 53. He appears to have spent the last year of his life reading the Qur'ān, studying traditions particularly the Ṣaḥīḥs of Muslim ( I. A. 23 ) and al-Bukhārī ( I. A. 23 ), teaching his pupils and fasting and praying. His body was buried outside Ṭabarān in a grave near to that of the Persian poet, Firdawsī.<sup>2</sup>

Al-Ghazālī's thinking and beliefs are preserved in the vast number of books which he wrote on various aspects of Islamic studies. It was claimed that he composed over 500 books and that the director of the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad, Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī ( III. S. 20 ), had in his private library 400 of these works.<sup>3</sup> Recent scholars have, however, cast doubt upon the authenticity of some of the works which are assigned to al-Ghazālī.<sup>3</sup>

What follows is a list of some of his important writings. They are listed according to the subject or topic with which they mainly deal, and based closely on Watt's list.<sup>4</sup>

a) personal. 1. al-Munqidh min ad-dalāl was written in Ṭūs three years before his death.

It is not precisely an autobiography

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1. Watt and Bouyges presume his return to Ṭūs was in 1110; Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 148; Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 6.

2. Subk., IV, 105; I Kh., I, 587; Miftah., II, 194.

3. Ibid., II, 203.

4. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī".

since it is arranged schematically according to the development of his religious opinions and not necessarily chronologically.<sup>1</sup>

b) jurisprudence

1. al-Mankhūl fī uṣūl al-fiqh, is a concise work on jurisprudence written when the author was a pupil of the Imām-al-Ḥaramayn in Nishapur.
2. Shifā' al-'alīl fī uṣūl al-fiqh, is a work which deals with questions of jurisprudence in some detail.
3. al-Basīṭ, a work of his earlier life, consisting of a summary of Imām-al-Ḥaramayn's Nihāyat al-maṭlab; probably a text book for his students.
4. al-Wasīṭ, a summary of al-Basīṭ.
5. al-Wajīz fī fiqh al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī, written in 1101.

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1. Translation of al-Ghazālī's work al-Munqidh into English is made by Watt under the title, The Faith and Practice of al-Ghazālī, see "Introduction", 11-12; Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, Al-Ghazālī". cf. Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings", J A O S, 79 (1959), 232.



6. al-Mustaṣfā min 'ilm al-uṣūl, written during the period of his teaching in Nishapur in 1109.<sup>1</sup>

c) Philosophy and logic

1. Maqāṣid al-falāsifa, probably written between 1091-4 in Baghdad as a background to Tahāfut. This book was much appreciated in Spain and in the rest of Europe in the 12th and 13th century.
2. Tahāfut al-falāsifa, was written in the beginning of 1095 as a criticism of the Maqāṣid.
3. Mi'yār al-'ilm fī fann al-mantiq, written as a book on Aristotelian logic. Hourani considers that it has a close connection with the Tahāfut and was probably written as appendix to it since it explains the technical terms in Tahāfut.
4. Mihakk an-naẓar fi'l mantiq.
5. al-Qiṣṭas al-mustaqīm; the Mi'yār, the Mihakk and the Qisṭas are books in which al-Ghazālī used logic in religious matters.

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1. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings" J A O S, 79, (1959), 226-7.

Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 8 - 9; the title al-Basīṭ was earlier used by al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ).

6. Mizān al-amal. The authenticity of the extant text has been questioned and the problem is still unsolved.<sup>1</sup>

- d) Dogmatic theology
1. al-Iqtisād fi'l i'tiqād is claimed to be his chief work on dogmatics and was probably written shortly before or after his departure from Baghdad. It was written on the same topics which had been previously dealt with by his teacher al-Juwaynī in Irshād, but he uses Aristotelian logic, including the syllogism.
  2. Fayṣal at-tafriqa bayna al-Islām wa'z-zandaqa: This dogmatic work is partly directed against the Bāṭinites.
  3. Iljām al-'awāmm 'an 'ilm al-kalām was finished a few days before his death in December 1111.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Ibid "The Authenticity of the Works attributed to al-Ghazālī", J R A S, (1952), 24-45; Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 23; Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings", J A O S, 79, (1959), 227-228.

2. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Hourani, op.cit., 228.

## e) polemics

1. Faḍā'ih al-Bāṭiniyya wa faḍā'il al-Mustazhiriyya, best known as al-Mustazhiri, probably written before Tahāfut in Baghdad. This Persian text is a theological critique of the Ismā'īlites or the Assassins. He also attacks the antinominalism of certain mystics.
2. Ar-Radd al-jamīl 'alā ṣarīḥ al-Injīl, al-Ghazālī's polemic against Christian theology. The authenticity of the work is doubted by Bouyges.<sup>1</sup>

## f) Mystical theory

1. Ar-Risāla al-ladunīyya, which deals with the nature of knowledge of divine things: its authenticity has been doubted because of its closeness to a work by his pupil Ibn al-'Arabī and because of its Neoplatonism.
2. Minhāj al-'ābidīn, which is one of the most important works written on this topic.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 82; ibid, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 126.
  2. Watt, "The Authenticity of the Works attributed to al-Ghazālī" J R A S, (1952), 34; Ibid., E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī".

g) Mystical practice 1. Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn, which is universally acknowledged as al-Ghazālī's greatest work, and the longest. This great work belongs to his period as a mystic. A small section of it, called ar-Risāla al-Qudsiyya, an epistle written to the people of Jerusalem, was presumably written separately during his visit to Jerusalem in 1096 and subsequently incorporated into Iḥyā'. Watt doubts that it took several years to compose it, since Arabic can be written as fast as shorthand and al-Ghazālī appears to have been a fast worker. Thus it is possible that he wrote the whole Iḥyā' within two years during his stay in Syria. The Iḥyā' is divided into four quarters, dealing with 'ibādāt, 'adāt, muhlikāt and munjiyāt. Each quarter has ten books.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Watt, Muslim Intellectual, 151; Ibid., E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 42.

2. Kīmiyā' as-sa'āda, the text written in Persian. It is an abridged popular version of the Iḥyā' and was presumably written during his return visit to Ṭūs before going to Nishapur.
3. Al-Arba'īn fī uṣūl ad-dīn is a short summary of the Iḥyā'.
4. Bidāyat al-hidāya, written after the Arba'īn. It is a short treatise dealing with the rules of daily life for the Muslim mystic.
5. Al-Maqṣad al-asnā, which deals with the names or attributes of God.

Al-Ghazālī was a mystic, a theologian and a jurist. His writings were extremely influential throughout the whole of Islamic thinking. According to Watt, his study of philosophy led to the introduction of certain techniques of philosophical enquiry, notably logic, into Islamic theology. On the other hand, however, his criticism of current philosophical movements, at that time, was probably instrumental in bringing about the decline of philosophical studies. One of his greatest services to Muslim mysticism was to provide the devout with specific

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1. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī"; Bouyges, Essai de chronologie des oeuvres de al-Ghazali, 61. Hourani, "The Chronology of Ghazālī's Writings", J A O S, 79 (1959).

instructions covering every aspect of the religious life, worship and devotional practices in his book Iḥyā' 'ulūm ad-dīn. Watt considers that he also might have had a more practical importance in helping to curtail the spread of the Bāṭinite movement by criticising their doctrines in his writings. While this may be so, the decline of the Ismā'īlite dynasty of al-Amūt is also due to many other factors.<sup>1</sup>

CC.2 Shams-ar-Ru'asā' Abū-'l-Ḥasan 'Alī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Manṣūr ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Ishāq. He was a native of Bayhaq and the son of the ra'īs there. Shams-ar-Ru'asā' joined the Seljūqīd administration and became deputy Vizier to Fakhr-al-Mulk al-Muẓaffar, the son of Niẓām-al-Mulk. In the latter period of his life he retired to the district of Zabzawār in Bayhaq and lived the life of a mystic. He built a monastery there where a group of mystics lived. He died in 1125 and was eulogised by the poet 'Alī Ibn-Abī-Ṣāliḥ.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Watt, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Al-Ghazālī".

2. I Fun., 217-18.

## CC.3 Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Qushayrī

His name was 'Ubayd-Allāh ibn-'Abd-al-Karīm ibn-Hawāzin. He was a native of Nishapur and the son of the famous mystic Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī ( III. V. 8 ). He was taught traditions by his father, and by 'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV. Y. 8 ) and Abū-Sa'īd al-Bukhturī ( IV. Y. 2 ) and others in Nishapur. Then he removed to Isfarā'in where he settled until his death in 1127. Abū-'l-Faṭḥ was regarded as a mystic. He learned the path of his father. He also wrote many works on the different 'paths' but none of them are named by his biographers.<sup>1</sup>

## CC.4 Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabarī

His name was Maṇṣūr ibn-'Alī ibn-Ismā'īl ibn-al-Muẓaffar. He was born in 1121 in Āmul, the administrative centre of the province of Ṭabaristān. Abū-'l-Faḍl was brought up in Marw and studied jurisprudence there under Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Marwazī. He continued this study in Nishapur under Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya ( IV. AA. 22 ), but later abandoned jurisprudence and took the vow of mysticism. At this period of his life he heard traditions from Zāhir ibn-Ṭāhir ash-Shaḥḥāmī ( IV. Y. 12 ), 'Abd-al-Jabbār al-Khuwārī ( IV. AA. 17 ) and from others. He died in Damascus in 1198.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Subk., IV, 269-270.

2. Ibid., IV, 312; Shadh., IV, 321.

THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN  
AL-GHAZZĀL, BŪ-JA'FARAK, ABŪ-'l-'ALĀ' AL-HAMADHĀNĪ  
AND ABŪ-'l-MAḤĀSIN AL-BAYHAQĪ

Among the readers of the Qur'ān in the twelfth century in Nishapur, the above named are the most important.

Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl ( IV. DD. 1 ) was a native of Nishapur and a pupil of Abū-Naṣr ar-Rāmishī ( III. X. 20). Although he received the renown of being honoured with the rank of chief reader of the Qur'ān in Khurasan, hardly anything is known of his activities and none of the books which he is reputed to have written are named by Yāqūt.<sup>1</sup> However, ash-Shahrazūrī gives an account of a meeting which supposedly took place in Nishapur between the scholars al-Ghazzāl and 'Umar al-Khayyām ( IV. EE. 3 ); Al-Khayyām had come before the Vizier, 'Abd-ar-Razzāq aṭ-Ṭusī ( IV. AA. 8 ), and al-Ghazzāl, and a discussion had then taken place between the two scholars about the different readings of a certain verse of the Qur'ān. Al-Khayyām was able to enumerate not only the conflicting readings about the verse in question, giving the objections to each one, but also the unsupported traditions concerning it, exposing each of their flaws, and then he proceeded to argue for the superiority of one reading over

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1. Irsh., V, 104; see below, (List No. I.E), 623.



all the others. Al-Ghazzāl was astonished at the retentive memory of al-Khayyām and is reported to have said that he never imagined that anyone in the world, not even any of the Qur'ānic readers, could have memorized and mastered the whole of the argument, let alone one of the philosophers.<sup>1</sup>

Bū-Ja'farak ( IV. DD. 4 ) was another Qur'ānic reader in Nishapur at this time. He was the pupil of Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 5 ) and was mainly renowned as a philologist and reader of the Qur'ān. Two of his philological books were concerned with the Qur'ānic text and were entitled al-Muḥīṭ fī 'ilm al-Qur'ān and al-Muḥīṭ fī lughāt al-Qur'ān.<sup>2</sup>

Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Hamadhānī ( IV. DD. 6 ) came from Hamadān to Nishapur to study under 'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ). He lived in the generation after Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl and was also regarded as the chief of the readers in Khurasan. In addition he was a philologist. Al-Hamadhānī wrote a large number of books, among which were about fifty volumes on the method of the citation of the Qur'ān, supported with traditions in a work called Zād al-musāfirīn. Lastly, among the readers of the Qur'ān whom we are mentioning in this section, there was Umm-al-Khayr al-Baghdādiyya (IV. DD. 3)

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1. Ash-Shahrazūrī, Nuzhat al-arwāḥ, quoted by Mohammad Shafi "The Author of the Oldest Biographical Notice of 'Umar al-Khayyām and notes in question", Islamic Culture, VI (1932), 612; Ross and Gibb, "The Earliest Account of 'Umar Khayyām," B S O (A) S, V (1928-30), 468; Mīrzā Muḥammad, "marginal notes", Nizām-i-'Arūḍī, Chahar maqāla, 211-212.
  2. Irsh., I, 415; Bughyat, 150; see below, (List No.I.F), 625.
  3. T̤Q, I, 205; Tadh., IV, 114-116.

who had come from Baghdad to Nishapur. Nothing much is known of her activities in Nishapur except that she opened a special course for the women there at which she taught the Qur'ān.<sup>1</sup>

In the field of interpretation of the Qur'ān, only one name of any importance appears, Abū-'l-Mahāsīn al-Bayhaqī ( IV. DD. 5 ), and he was also known as a poet and a man of letters. Among his works was one entitled Tafsīr al-Qur'ān but this is no longer extant.<sup>2</sup>

In general, it may therefore be said, that although probably as great personalities existed in the twelfth century in Nishapur as the scholars ath-Tha'labī ( III. W. 2 ) and al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ) in the eleventh century, any judgement about their contribution to what is called the science of readings, 'ilm al-qirā'āt, and the interpretation of the Qur'ān is rendered difficult by the absence of any documentary evidence.<sup>3</sup>

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1. T. Q., I, 204-207; Tadh., IV, 116.

2. Irsh., VII, 159.

3. See above, 420.

DD

THE READERS AND COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN (1100-1225)

DD.1 Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl

His name was 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He studied the Qur'ān under Abū-Naṣr ar-Rāmishī ( III. X. 20 ) and later was to surpass him in piety and in his knowledge of jurisprudence. His skill in giving citations and interpreting the various readings of the Qur'ān was so great that students came to him from all over Khurasan and he was regarded as the chief of the readers of the Qur'ān in Khurasan. He died in 1122. Yāqūt, who was a contemporary of his, mentions that he was the main religious person at this time giving fatwās in Nishapur. Al-Ghazzāl is known to have written many books, but none of them are named by Yāqūt.<sup>2</sup>

DD.2 Aṭ-Ṭayyān

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh. He was a native of Marw. He heard traditions in that city from Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī ( III. S. 25 ) and in Nishapur from Abū-Bakr as-Sarrāj and Ismā'īl ibn-'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. He became noted as a reader of the Qur'ān and it is known that Abū-

1. See Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ) for the derivation of the nisba.

2. Irsh., V, 104; T. Q., I, 524; Siyāq., ff.116b, 117a.

Sa'd as-Sam'ānī ( IV. Y. 17) read the Qur'ān under him and also received traditions from him. He died in 1134 and was buried in Najdān.<sup>1</sup>

#### DD.3 Umm-al-Khayr al-Baghdādiyya

Her name was Fāṭima bint-'Alī ibn-al-Muẓaffar. She was a native of Baghdad, but she lived in Nishapur and therefore she was also called al-Naysābūriyya. She delivered the Ṣaḥīḥ of Muslim (I. A. 28 ) and the Gharīb of al-Khaṭṭābī (II. I.44) on the authority of Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Fārisī (III. X. 8). She was noted for her ability in teaching women the reading of the Qur'ān. She lived up to 97 years. Her death occurred in 1137.<sup>2</sup>

#### DD.4 Bū-Ja'farak

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Alī ibn-Ja'far ibn-Muḥammad. His kunya was Abū-Ja'far but he was better known by his Persian form of Bū-Ja'farak.

Bū-Ja'farak was born in 1077 in Nishapur. He studied traditions and Arabic literature under many masters in Nishapur; for example, it is mentioned that he studied the

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1. Subk., IV, 198.

2. Siyāq., f.124a; Shadh., IV, 100.

3. Irsh., I, 414.

Ṣiḥāḥ al-lughā of al-Jawharī ( III.X.1 ) under Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 5 ). The young Bū-Ja'farak is said to have taught literature to the Ḥanafite scholar Abū-Naṣr Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad al-Ustuwā'ī ( III. R. 12) and others. He died in Nishapur in 1149.

Bū-Ja'farak was renowned as a reader of the Qur'ān and as a philologist. He composed many works, some of which are given by Yāqūt as follows:-

1. Al-Muḥīṭ fī lughāt al-Qur'ān.
2. Al-Muḥīṭ fī 'ilm al-Qur'ān.
3. Yanābī' al-lughā.
4. Tāj al-maṣādir.<sup>1</sup>

None of his works are extant.

DD.5 Abū-'l-Maḥāsin al-Bayhaqī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-'Alī ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Bayhaq and was renowned as a commentator of the Qur'ān, a poet and a man of letters. Nothing is known about his life. He died in 1149. He was famous for his writings. Yāqūt gives the following books written by him:-

1. Tafsīr al-Qur'ān.
2. Sharḥ al-ḥamāsa. (of Abū-Tammām (I.H.1))
3. Ṣaḥīl al-albāb.
4. At-Tawābī' wa'l-Lawāmi' fi'l-uṣūl.
5. At-Tanqīḥ fi'l-fiḥ.
6. Nafthāt al-maṣdūr.<sup>2</sup>

These works are no longer extant.

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1. Irsh., I, 415; Dughyat., 150.

2. Irsh., VII, 159.

DD.6     Abū-'l-'Alā' al-Hamadhānī

His name was al-Ḥasan ibn-Aḥmad. He was born in Hamadān in 1095. At the early age of seven he learned traditions from 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ad-Dūnī. He then went to Nishapur where he was taught traditions by the famous shaykh Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Furāwī ( IV. Y. 9 ) and from others. He visited Baghdad four times; the third time was in 1135. On his fourth visit to Baghdad he died there in 1173. He became noted as the chief of the readers of the Qur'ān as well as a distinguished philologist, grammarian and traditionist.

Al-Hamadhānī was a copious writer. He compiled a large work consisting of 50 volumes on the methods of reading the Qur'ān and traditions which was entitled Zād al-musāfirīn. Another work on the ways of reading the Qur'ān was called al-'Ashra al-mufradāt. According to Ibn al-Jazarī, his most famous work was al-Ghāya fi'l-qirā'āt.<sup>1</sup> But all his works are lost.

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1. T Q I, 204-207; Tadh., IV, 114-116; Shadh., IV, 231f; see Ibn-Mihrān (II. O. 4) who also wrote a book called al-Ghāya fi'l-qirā'āt, which is extant.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS

ABŪ-'l-FADL AL-MAYDĀNĪ, 'UMAR AL-KHAYYĀM, IBN-FUNDUQ  
AND NIẒĀMĪ-i-'ARŪDĪ

These were the four great names in Arabic and Persian literature which were associated with Nishapur in the twelfth century.

Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 5 ) was a native of Nishapur and a pupil of Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ). He is mainly remembered today for his book al-Jāmi' fi'l-amthāl, a collection of ancient Arabic proverbs which forms the basis of Freytag's Arabia Proverbia, but he also compiled a dictionary, as-Sāmī fi'l-asāmī, and a work on grammar called al-Hādī li-'sh-shādī.<sup>1</sup>

One of al-Maydānī's contemporaries was the scientist and poet 'Umar al-Khayyām ( IV. EE. 3 ), the pupil of Ibn-Sīnā. He was an astronomer and worked for a time in the observatory which had been established by the Seljūq Sultan, Malik-Shāh, but he also wrote many scientific and mathematical works, such as a treatise on algebra, a commentary on Euclid, and a treatise on the chemical analysis of minerals. These works were all written in Arabic.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Irsh., II, 107f; I Kh., I, 57; A L, 167.

2. Minorsky, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Omar Khaiyām"; A L, 494.

However it is as a poet, and as a Persian poet in particular, that he is known throughout Europe. This poetry is in the form of quatrains and although the word rubā'ī is an Arabic word, the quatrain itself appears to have had a distinct Persian origin and was used by Persian poets of the 10th and 11th centuries such as Rūdagī (880-954) and his contemporary, Abū-Shākīr of Balkh. The quatrain was made popular as a means of expression of mystical sentiments and beliefs by Abū-Sa'īd Ibn-Abī-'l-Khayr ( III. V. 5 ), a mystic who had lived for a time in Nishapur, but Trattner also claims that the quatrain came to stand as a symbol of Persian aspirations and nationalism under Arabic domination. It is not certain whether 'Umar al-Khayyām's use of the verse form can be attributed to Trattner's theory.<sup>1</sup> Certainly there is no extant poetry of his exalting his Sultan and employer, Malik-Shāh, as was the custom of his time, but this is probably accounted for by the fact that he was primarily considered to be an astronomer and a mathematician, and not a poet. It is significant in this respect that, whereas 'Umar al-Khayyām is better known in Europe as a poet than his fellow poets Anwārī and Khāqānī, his reputation in Persia and among scholars is quite low.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Trattner, " 'Umar Khayyām - Poet", M W, L. II (1962), 310-312.

2. L H P, II, 84.



As well as writing verse in Persian, it has recently been made known, with the discovery of Ibn-Funduq's biographical work Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma, that 'Umar al-Khayyām also wrote a few lines of verse in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

A contemporary of 'Umar al-Khayyām's was the court poet of the Ghūrīds, Niẓāmī-i-'Arūḍī ( IV. EE.14), the author of Chahār maqāla. In this book he gives the earliest account about 'Umar al-Khayyām and Ibn-Sīnā. In the opinion of Browne the book is one of the most interesting and remarkable prose works in Persian in which the writer throws most light on the intimate life of Persian and Central Asian Courts in the twelfth century of our era.<sup>2</sup>

A student of al-Maydānī and 'Umar al-Khayyām was Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī who was better known as Ibn-Funduq (IV.EE.12). He appears to have been the author of **many** books and to have written in both Persian and Arabic. Yāqūt lists more than seventy of his books<sup>3</sup>, but among the best known of them are his history of his place of birth, Ta'rikh-i Bayhaq, which was written in Persian, and an Arabic supplement to the biographical work Ṣiwān al-ḥikma of Abū-Sulaymān as-Sijistānī which was entitled Tatimmat ṣiwān al-ḥikma. This latter work contains the biography and sayings of one hundred and eleven philosophers and mathematicians, many of whom were contemporary,

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1. Tritton, "'Umar Khayyām as an Arabic Poet", B S O (A) S, 27 (1964), 431-33.

2. L H P , II, 336; Massé, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī"; see below, 593-594.

3. Irsh., V, 208-211; see below, (List No.I.F), 625.

or nearly contemporary, with the author himself. It also contains the earliest account of the mathematician, 'Umar al-Khayyām, and his teacher Ibn-Sīnā. Ibn-Funduq was a historian, jurist and poet. Some portions of his anthology of poetry, Wishāḥ ad-dumya, a continuation of al-Bākhazī's ( III. X. 15 ) Dumyat al-qaṣr, are extant and contain specimens of his own poetry in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

The names of the other literary personalities in Nishapur at this time are little known because most of their works have been lost. Among the writers of prose were Abū-Sa'd al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 7 ), the son of Abū-'l-Faḍl al-Maydānī, Tāj-ad-Dīn al-Harawī ( IV. EE. 15 ) aṭ-Ṭabarsī ( IV. EE. 9 ) and al-Alm'ī ( IV. EE. 4 ). Among the poets were Abū-Ibrāhīm al-'Utbi ( IV. EE. 1 ), Fakr-az-Zamān aṣ-Ṣawābī ( IV. EE. 8 ), Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qāḍī ( IV. EE. 10 ), al-Fanjukirdī ( IV. EE. 2 ) and Ash'harī ( IV. EE. 13 ). The latter is alleged to be the son of 'Umar-al-Khayyām and is also known for his composition of quatrains.

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1. Dunlop, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Bayhaḳī"; Storey, Persian Literature., I, 353-4; II, 1105, 1295; Mohammad Shafi, "The Author of the Oldest Biographical Notice of 'Umar al-Khayyām and notes in question" Islamic Culture, VI (1932) 582-628.

THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS (1100-1225)

EE.1      Abū-Ibrāhīm al-'Utbi

His name was As'ad ibn-Mas'ūd ibn-'Alī ibn-Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan. His nisba al-'Utbi is derived from his ancestor 'Utba ibn-Ghazwān, who was one of the most famous of the Umayyad army commanders and who founded the city of Baṣra. Al-'Utbi was born in 1013 in Nishapur. While still a youth he left Nishapur and went to Baghdad where he heard traditions from Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd-Allāh al-Khawāfī. Then he joined the Seljūqid administration in Iraq as a secretary but later he retired to his place of birth in Nishapur and thereafter kept himself away from public life. It is reported that an assembly was conducted by him in Nishapur in the mosque of al-Manī'ī in which he dictated traditions. He died in Nishapur in the year 1101. Nothing is known of his literary activities, though he is regarded by his biographers as a poet and a man of letters.<sup>1</sup>

EE.2      al-Fanjukirdī

His name was 'Alī ibn-Aḥmad. He was a native of Nishapur and lived in the village of Kanjukird and hence his nisba al-Fanjukirdī. According to al-Fārisī, al-Fanjukirdī

1. Lub., II, 118-19; Irsh., II, 242.

was an able man of letters, well versed in poetry and prose. He studied philology under 'Alī ibn-Ya'qūb al-Adīb and others until he mastered that subject and later emerged as one of the great masters of philology of his time. He died in 1119.<sup>1</sup>

### EE.3 'Umar al-Khayyām

His name was 'Umar ibn-Ibrāhīm and his kunya was Abū-'l-Fath. He received the nisba of al-Khayyām or al-Khayyāmī 'tent maker', probably from the occupation of his ancestors. His entire family appears to have come from Nishapur but the date of his birth is unknown. He studied under Ibn-Sīnā various philosophical disciplines. He also studied a certain book, unnamed by his biographers, in Iṣpahan which he dictated on his return to Nishapur.<sup>2</sup>

In 1070, the Seljūq Sultan Malik-Shāh established an observatory in Baghdad in which al-Khayyām was employed along with other astronomers, and, in 1074 or 1075, the Sultan

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1. Irsh., V, 103; Bughyat, 329; Lub., II, 223; Ans., f.432a.

2. Ibn-al-Qiftī, Ta'rikh al-hukamā', 333-4; Ross, "Fresh Light on 'Omar Khayyām", J R A S, (1898), 352-4; Minorsky, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Omar Khayyām"; the tale of the three school fellows; Nizām-al-Mulk, al-Hasan-aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ and al-Khayyām given by Rashīd-ad-Dīn and Dawlatshāh is chronologically rejected since Nizām-al-Mulk was born in 1017 and there are no records indicating that al-Khayyām or aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ died at the age of more than 100 years; Rashīd-ad-Dīn, Jami' at-tawārikh, 110; Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 153; cf. Beveridge, "More Light on 'Omar Khayyām" J R A S, (1899), 135-139; Macdonald. "The Life of al-Ghazzālī", J A O S, 20 (1899), 78-79; L H P, II, 253.

invited him to collaborate with Abū-'l-Muẓaffar Asfizārī and Maymūn-al-Wāsiṭī in the reform of the Persian calendar. It is also related that the Sultan provided him with certain funds for the purchase of astronomical instruments and apparatus for the observation of the stars but that before they were fully operational, the Sultan died in 1092.<sup>1</sup>

In 1112 or 1113, Nizāmī-i-'Arūḍī ( IV. EE. 14) is reported to have visited al-Khayyām when he was staying in Balkh, but the purpose of his stay there is not known, although it appears to have been of short duration because it is also reported that shortly afterwards, in 1113, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Baghaqī, better known as Ibn-Funduq ( IV. EE. 12 ), met him in Nishapur. Ibn-Funduq is also said to have discussed with al-Khayyām certain aspects of poetry and geometry and to have expressed his satisfaction with the knowledge and intelligence of Ibn-Funduq. The chief scholar, however, who had the closest relationship with al-Khayyām was Abū-Ḥamid al-Ghazālī ( IV. CC. 1 ), who is reported to have discussed with him certain topical problems in astronomy. Among the other scholars whom it is reported that al-Khayyām met were the famous reader of the Qur'ān, Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzāl ( IV. DD. 1 ), and the learned prince of the Kākūyid dynasty, Farāmarz ibn-'Alī ibn-

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1. Nizāmī-i-'Arūḍī Chahār maqāla, 62-63. Kāmil., X, 67;

Ross and Gibb, "The Earliest Account of 'Umar Khayyām"

B S O (A) S, V (1928-30), 466-473.

Farāmarz. He died in 1120. Al-Khayyām appears to have been highly respected socially. The Seljūq Sultan, Malik-Shāh, it is said, used to count him among his companions. The Qarakhanid Khāqān, Shams-al-Mulk, apparently used to treat him, in Bukhārā, with the high honour of seating him beside him on his divan. However, the son of Malik-Shāh, Sanjar, who became the ruler of Khurasan, disliked him.<sup>1</sup> He appears to have been a scholar in philosophy, jurisprudence and history, but he was particularly renowned as a scientist and a poet. Al-Khayyām's poetical ability was for a long time over-shadowed by his reputation as a scientist. His treatise on algebra was first translated in Europe in 1851. However it is only comparatively recently that his stature as a poet has been recognised. The first edition of Fitzgerald's famous translation of al-Khayyām's rubā'īyyāt was published in 1859. A French edition by Nicholas followed in 1867, but it was only with the publication of Fitzgerald's second edition in 1868 that al-Khayyām became a popular poet in Europe. Although

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1. Mohammad Shafi, "The Author of Oldest Biographical Notice of 'Umar al-Khayyām and notes in question", Islamic Culture, VI (1932), 586-587, 612-617; Rashīd-ad-Dīn, Jāmi' at-tawārīkh, 110; L H P, II, 246-258; Mīrza Muḥammad, marginal notes, Niẓāmī-i-'Arūdī, Chahār Maqāla, 209-228; Ross and Gibb, "The Earliest Account of 'Umar Khayyām", B S O (A) S, V (1928-1930), 466-73; references on the life and works of 'Umar al-Khayyām are given by Luṭf-'Alī-Beg, Āteshkade, II, 674-683n.

the rubā'īyyāt was written in Persian, it also appears that al-Khayyām wrote some of his poetry in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Khayyām/<sup>among others</sup> composed the following works, which are extant:

1. Maqāla fi'l-jabr wa'l-muqābala.
2. Risāla fī sharḥ mā ashkala min muṣādarāt kitāb Uqlīdis.
3. Risāla fi'l-wujūd.
4. Rawḍat al-'uqūl.
5. Risāla fi'l-iḥtiyāl li-ma'rifat miqdāray adh-dhahab wa 'l-fiḍḍa fī jism murakkab minhumā.<sup>2</sup>

#### EE.4 Abū-Naṣr al-Alm'ī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Sa'īd. He was a follower of Abū-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Karrām's (I.E.1) doctrine. He studied Arabic literature in his place of birth, Nishapur, under Aḥmad al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 5 ) until he became a master of that subject. He taught the literature he had learned from his teacher. He became quite famous in this field but then joined the Army. He died while he was still young in 1122.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Minorsky, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Omar al-Khayyām; Tritton, "Omar Khayyām as an Arabic Poet", B S O (A) S, 27 (1964), 4313: On Khayyām's rubā'īyyāt and scientific works see; 'Abd-al-Ḥaqq Fāḍil, "The Fame of 'Omar Khayyām", M W, L (1960) 259-268; L H P, II, 255-258.
  2. G A L S, I, 855; G A L, I, 620-621.
  3. Siyāq., f.22b.

## EE.5 Al-Maydānī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. His kunya was Abū-'l-Faḍl and he was born in one of the quarters of Nishapur called Maydān from which he derived the nisba al-Maydānī.<sup>1</sup> In Nishapur he studied Arabic literature under the commentator Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Wāḥidī ( III. W. 6 ) and 'Alī ibn-Ya'qūb ibn-Aḥmad an-Naysābūrī, and was later regarded as an eminent literary man and learned philologist. He died in Nishapur in 1124. Al-Maydānī is regarded by Yāqūt as one of the most elegant writers of his time. He was a contemporary of the famous scholar az-Zamakhsharī. It is related that the latter criticised al-Maydānī's treatise on literature, al-Jamī', for some unknown proverbs mentioned in it but most historians regard his criticism as being derived from a sense of jealousy since none of al-Maydānī's contemporaries wrote as good a work. The following is a list of his works which are extant.

1. al-Jamī' fi'l-amthāl. (or Majma' al-amthāl).
2. as-Sāmī fi'l-asāmī.
3. Nuzhat at-ṭarf fī'ilm as-ṣarf.
4. Ḥunyat ar-rāḍī bi-rasā'il al-qāḍī.
5. Al-Ḥādī li-'sh-shādī.
6. Ḥayd al-awābid min al-fawā'id.<sup>2</sup>

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1. M B. IV, 713.

2. Irsh., II, 107-8; Bughyat, 155; I Kh., I, 57;  
Shadh., IV, 158; G A L S, I, 506; G A L, I, 344.



## EE.6 as-Silīqī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-Mānkadūm ibn-Zayd al-‘Alawī al-Ḥasanī as-Silīqī. He was one of the Sayyids of Bayhaq. He died in 1139. He composed an elegy on his son ‘Awḍ which is quoted by Ibn-Funduq. He had another son, Abū-‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī, who died in 1154. He took lessons on literature from Abū-‘l-Futūḥ Riḍā. From his childhood onwards he composed poetry and some of his verses are cited by Ibn-Funduq.<sup>1</sup>

## EE.7 Abū-Sa‘d al-Maydānī

His name was Sa‘īd ibn-Aḥmad ibn-Muḥammad ibn-Aḥmad. He was the son of the man of letters Abū-‘l-Faḍl Aḥmad al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 5 ). He followed the example of his father and became noted as a man of letters, distinguished for his talents and piety. He died in 1144-5.

Abū-Sa‘d wrote one work which is mentioned by his biographers. It was the treatise entitled al-Asmā fi’l-asma’ and its material was probably derived from his father's work as-Samī fi’l-asamī.<sup>2</sup>

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1. I Fun., 232.

2. I Kh., I, 57; Shadh., IV, 56.

## EE.8 Fakr-az-Zamān aṣ-Ṣawabī

His name was Mas'ūd ibn-'Alī ibn-Aḥmad. He was the descendant of the Companion 'Abd-ar-Raḥmān ibn-'Awf. He was a native of Bayhaq. His father was a theologian and a poet. He himself studied literature under al-Ḥasan al-Ghāzī and jurisprudence under Abū-'l-Qāsim Ismā'īl. He was one of the famous poets of Bayhaq and had a large Dīwān, which, however, no longer exists. He composed many works on jurisprudence, theology and the interpretation of the Qur'ān. The names of these works are listed by Ibn-Funduq, but none of them have survived. He died in 1149.<sup>1</sup>

## EE.9 Al-Imām as-Sa'id Abū-'Alī aṭ-Ṭabarsī

His name was al-Faḍl ibn-al-Ḥasan. He was a native of Ṭabars, which was a district situated between Iṣpahan and Qāshān. He was a master of grammar. He studied under Tāj-al-Qurrā' al-Kirmānī. He settled in Bayhaq in 1128-9. He is said to have composed poetry from his childhood and some is quoted in the Wishah ad-dumya of Ibn-Funduq. He died in Zabzawār, district of Bayhaq in 1153.

Aṭ-Ṭabarsī was a man of letters, grammarian and a poet.

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1. I Fun., 234-235.

He was the author of many works on literature, among them being:

1. Kitāb-i maqāṣid

2. Sharḥ-i ḥamāsa of Abū-Tammām ( I. H. 1 ),

but none of his writings are extant.<sup>1</sup>

#### EE.10 Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qaḍī

His name was Muḥammad ibn-'Abd-Allāh ibn-Aḥmad ibn-al-Ḥusayn. He received the laqab of Nāṣiḥ-ad-Dīn. He was a poet and calligraphist. Ibn-Funduq cites one of his poems in praise of Sharaf-ad-Dīn al-Bayhaqī. He died in 1154. His son Ja'far was also an able poet, but he died before his father in 1148-9, in a place between Isfarā'in and Bayhaq.<sup>2</sup>

#### EE.11 as-Sālār

His name was Muḥammad Ibn-Abī-'Abd-Allāh. He was a member of the Sālār family of Bayhaq. He died in 1156-7, and Ibn-Funduq who was one of his pupils, composed an elegy about him. Ibn-Funduq also gives us a specimen from one of as-Salar's poems.<sup>3</sup>

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1. I Fun., 234-235.

2. Ibid., 229.

3. Ibid., 239.

## EE.12 Ibn-Funduq

His name was 'Alī-ibn-Zayd ibn-Funduq. His kunya was Abū-'l-Ḥasan and his laqab was Zāhir-ad-Dīn. He was born at Zabzawār, the administrative centre of the rustāq of Bayhaq, in 1100 or in 1106. It seems, from the autobiography given in his lost treatise Mashārib at-tajārib and quoted by Yāqūt, that he spent most of his life travelling in Khurasan. In 1120-21, he arrived in Nishapur. He became a pupil of Abū-Ja'far al-Muqri' ( IV. DD. 4 ) and in the Ancient Mosque he studied the latter's own book, the Tāj al-maṣādir, and the grammar of Ibn-Faḍḍāl (III. X. 21 ), among other works. He then became the pupil of Aḥmad al-Maydānī (IV. EE. 5 ) and studied his book which was called as-Sāmī fi'l-asāmī, while at the same time attending the theological lectures given by Ibrāhīm al-Ḥarrāz. Before leaving Nishapur for Marw, a year after his father's death in 1123, he studied the traditional compilation of al-Khaṭṭābī's ( II. I. 44 ) Gharīb under Muḥammad al-Fazārī. During his residence in Marw from 1124-5 until 1127, he studied the khilāf under Yaḥya ibn-'Abd-al-Malik ibn-Sa'īd and took part in the discussions which were held by him. In 1127, he returned to Bayhaq via Nishapur and married the sister of the governor of Rayy, Shihāb-ad-Dīn al-Mukhtār. In 1131, probably due to the influence of his brother-in-law, he was appointed qāḍī of Bayhaq but, as he disliked the official duties of that post, he soon resigned and returned to his former scholarly pursuits.

Shortly after his resignation as qādī, he spent a year in Rayy where he was entertained by many of the city's notables including his brother-in-law. He also took the opportunity to study algebra, geometry, astrology and the principles of jurisprudence under ustādh 'Uthmān ibn-Jādhūkār. In 1134, he returned to Nishapur and remained there a year before moving to Sarakhs to study philosophy under Quṭb-ad-Dīn al-Marwazī.<sup>1</sup> He returned to Nishapur in 1137 with his teacher of philosophy and stayed there for four more years. He travelled to Bayhaq in 1141 but left soon after arriving due to a quarrel between himself and his relatives. He finally decided to make Nishapur his permanent residence and remained there until 1154, teaching and holding assemblies. It is reported that on Mondays he conducted assemblies in the Ḥājj mosque, on Wednesdays in the Murabba'a mosque and on Fridays in the Ancient Mosque. It is significant for his later career that the Vizier of the Sultan Sanjar, Ṭāhir ibn-Fakhr-al-Mulk, and other distinguished scholars in Nishapur attended these assemblies. He returned to Bayhaq in 1154 to visit his family but both his mother and his brother Aḥmad had died during his stay in Nishapur. Ibn-'Imād al-Iṣbahānī gives some account of Ibn-Funduq's later career; he states that he became connected with the Seljūq

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1. Irsh., V, 228-211. cf. Storey, Persian Literature, I, 353; Dunlop, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Bayhaqī".

officials of Khurasan and was regarded by them with such high esteem that he was considered the favourite candidate for the viziership of the Sultan Sanjar. Ibn-Funduq himself tells us that in 1148, on the arrival in Khurasan at the Court of the Sultan Sanjar of an envoy from the Christian King of Georgia, Demetrius, certain questions were received in Arabic and Syriac and were answered at the instance of Sanjar by Ibn-Funduq.<sup>1</sup> However, when the Sultan was captured by the Ghuzz armies, Ibn-Funduq was also imprisoned and on his release Ibn-Funduq went to Rayy where he stayed as a guest of the new governor there, Sharaf-ad-Dīn. He died in Rayy in 1169-70.<sup>2</sup> Ibn-Funduq was held in the highest esteem by his contemporaries as man of letters, historian, theologian, jurist and physician. Yāqūt lists more than 70 books which were written by him on a great variety of subjects, some in Arabic and others in Persian. In literature, one of his most famous books was an anthology of poetry entitled Wishāh ad-dumya. This was intended to be a supplement to al-Bākhārī's book the Dumyat al-qasr ( III. X. 15 ) and included specimens of his own poetry. It was written in Arabic, in 1140-41, during the time of Ibn-Funduq's stay in Nishapur, and when Yāqūt visited the city in 1112-13, he found the book still extant there. Among his historical writings, the best known of his books was his history of Bayhaq, which is still extant and is called simply Ta'rīkh-i Bayhaq, in which he gives us the earlier history of that city and the biographies of its better-known families, such

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1. I Fun., 162; Iṣbahānī quoted by Yāqūt; Irsh., V, 214.

2. Ibid., V, 214; Yāqūt also gives specimen of Ibn-Funduq's poems: Ibid., V, 214-218.

as the Bayhaqīs, the Mīkālīs and Ḥākīmīs. Another important book of his was the supplement to the biographical work the Siwan al-ḥikma and was entitled Tatimmat siwān al-ḥikma. This was originally written in Arabic but was translated into Persian probably about 1330. Another work by him which is still extant and which was written in Persian was a judicial astrological book entitled Jawāmi' al-aḥkām.<sup>1</sup>

### EE.13 Ash'harī

His name was Shāhfūr ibn-Muḥammad. He was a native of Nishapur. He was said to be one of the sons of 'Umar al-Khayyām ( IV. EE. 3 ). Ash'harī was a poet attached to the court of the Khwarizm Shāhs of Bukhārā. It is related that the Sultan, Muḥammad ibn-Takash, appointed him as the chief tax collector of the buildings in his kingdom and that he wrote a treatise on his work. He died in Tabrīz in 1209 and was buried beside the poet Ṣāḥir-ad-Dīn al-Fārayyābī.

Ash'harī was called king of the poets. Some of his poems were quatrains. Dawlatshāh gives one of his quatrains on drinking wine and another on Ghazal.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Storey, Persian Literature, I, 354; II, 1105, 1295; Dunlop, E I<sup>2</sup>, "Bayhaqī", G A L, I, 395-396; G A L S, I, 557-558; see the preface which is given by Mohammad Shafi, "The Author of the Oldest Biographical Notice on 'Umar al-Khayyām and notes in question", Islamic Culture, VI (1932), 586-601.
  2. Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā', 102-3; Luṭf-'Alī-Beg, II, Āteskadē, 673-4.

## EE.14 Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī

His name was Aḥmad ibn-'Umar ibn-'Alī and his kunya was Abū-'l-Ḥasan, but he was better known as Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī. He was born in Samarqand and the only information that we have about his life comes from himself.

He informs us that in 1110/1 he was in Samarqand, collecting information about the poet Rūdagī.<sup>1</sup> In 1112/3 he met the astronomer and poet, 'Umar al-Khayyām ( IV. EE. 3 ), at Balkh and three years later he was residing in Herat.<sup>2</sup> In 1116/7 he was living in poverty in Nishapur and he decided to go to Tūs with the object of obtaining the favour of the Sultan Sanjar, who was encamped on the outskirts of Tūs. While he was in Tūs he visited the grave of the famous epic poet, Firdawsī, and collected material about his life which he incorporated into his book Chahār maqāla. At the court of the Sultan Sanjar he became friends with the Sultan's poet laureate, Mu'izzī, and, encouraged by him, he succeeded in attracting the attention of Sanjar. According to Massé,<sup>3</sup> Nizāmī's fame and reputation probably date from this time.

In 1118, he again visited Nishapur. In 1120 he was still at Nishapur, where he heard from the lips of Mu'izzī an anecdote about Maḥmūd and Firdawsī.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī, Chahār maqāla, 33.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 44, 63.

3. Ibid., op.cit., 40-43, 69; Massé, E I<sup>1</sup>, "Nizāmī 'Arūdī".

4. Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī, op.cit., 50-51.



In 1135/6 he returned to Nishapur to visit the grave of 'Umar al-Khayyām.<sup>1</sup> In 1152-3 he was with 'Alā'-ad-Dīn al-Ghūrī in the battle waged by that prince in a place near Herat, against the Sultan Sanjar, and after the defeat of the Ghūrī he was for some time in hiding at Herat.<sup>2</sup> From this time, nothing is known about his life except that his work Chahār maqāla was probably written in 1156.<sup>3</sup>

Nizāmī wrote both prose and poetry but the only work which has come down to us intact is the Chahār maqāla. This consists of four discourses, each of which deals with a separate class of men and is followed by anecdotes often from the author's own personal experience. It is from this work and that of Ibn-Funduq Tatimmat, that we have the earliest account of Firdawsī and 'Umar al-Khayyām. Browne mentions that Dawlatshāh made great use of this work.<sup>4</sup>

With regard to his verse, most of it has been lost apart from fragments given by Dawlatshāh and 'Awfī. He is also known to have composed several mathnawī but the titles of these works have not come down to us.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī, Chahār maqāla, 63.

2. Ibid., op.cit., 76-7, 87-8.

3. Massé, E I, "Nizāmī 'Arūdī". Ibid., Anthologie persane, 128; See biographical accounts which are given by; Mīrzā Muḥammad "Preface", Nizāmī-i-'Arūdī Chahār maqāla, XI-XXIV; Browne, "The Chahār Maqāla", J R A S, (1899), 613 ff; L H P, II, 336-7.

4. Browne, "The Sources of Dawlatshāh", J R A S, (1899), 40, 45.

5. Dawlatshāh, Tadhkirat ash-shu'arā, 68; 'Awfī, Lubāb al-albāb, II, 7, 207-208; L H P, II, 337.

## EE.15 Al-Harawī

His name was Maḥmūd Ibn-Abī-'l-Ma'ālī. His laqab was Tāj-ad-Dīn. He was a native of Nishapur and studied literature under the distinguished master Abū-Sa'd al-Maydānī ( IV. EE. 7 ). He graduated with a great reputation of being skilful in philology and versed in prose and poetry. He composed a book on literature, which is no longer extant, entitled Ḍallat al-adīb fi'l-Jam' bayna aṣ-ṣaḥīḥ wa'l-tahdhīb. Al-Harawī was reported by Yāqūt to be still alive in the year 1184, but the date of his death is not known.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Irsh., VII, 151-152.

THE LISTS

A NOTE ON THE LISTS

The lists deal only with the scholars with whom I have dealt in this work. They are arranged in chronological order. Regarding List No.1 it excludes all traditionists except those who studied or taught other subjects besides tradition.

LIST NO.1: THE TEACHERS AND THEIR PUPILS

## A. THE HANAFITES

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Ḥanīfa	767	Ibn-Tahmān (I.B.1)	776
" "		Abū-'Umar al-Faqīh (I.B.2)	814
" "		Al-Jārūd (I.B.3)	818-19
Qāḍī Abū-Yūsuf	795	Ibn-Abī-'l-Azhar (I.B.5)	828
"		Abū-'Alī ar-Ramjarī (I.B.14)	-
"		<del>Abū-'l-'Abbās at- Tabbānī (I.B.10)</del>	<del>960</del>
Muḥammad ibn-al-Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī	802	Al-'Āmirī (I.B.7)	851
"		Abū-'l-Ḥusayn an- Naysaburī (I.B.10)	865
Bishruwayhi (I.B.6)	830	Al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī (I.B.8)	856
"		Al-Ḥasan ibn-Bishr (I.B.9)	858
Bishr ibn-al-Walīd al-Qāḍī	852	Abū-Naṣr al-Labbād (I.B.13)	893
Abū-'l-Ḥusayn an- Naysaburī (I.B.10)	865	Al-Buzdigharī (I.B.4)	824
"		Ibrāhīm an-Naysaburī (II.J.5)	920-1

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Naṣr al-Labbād (I.B.13)	893	Abū-Ishāq al-Judhāmī (II.J.6)	933
Hārūn ibn-Yazīd	-	Abū-Yahya al-'Atakī (I.B.12)	881
An-Naḍr ibn-Salama	-	Abū-Bakr al-Jārūdī (II.J.I)	903
Aḥmad al-Julābādhī	949	Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Tabbānī (II.J.10)	960
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī	951	Abū-Sahl az-Zujjājī (II.J.8)	951
"		Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn (II.J.11)	962
"		Abū-Bakr al-Jaṣṣāṣ (II.J.16)	980
Abū-Sahl az-Zujjājī (II.J.8)	951	"	
"		Abū-'Alī as-Samarqandī (III.R.1)	1005
Abū-'l-'Abbās at- Tabbānī (II.J.10)	960	Abū-Ṣādiq at-Tabbānī (II.J.17)	982
Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn (II.J.11)	962	Abū-'l-Haytham (III.R.2)	1015
Abū-'l-Haytham (III.R.2)	1015	Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al- Harawī (III.X.4)	1023
"		Qāḍī Ṣā'id (III.R.6)	1039
"		Ibn-Abī-'l-Haytham (III.R.7)	1039
Qāḍī Ṣā'id (III.R.6)	1039	Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al- Harawī (III.X.4)	1023
"		Al-Ḥuskānī (III.Q.71)	1097

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Qāḍī Sā'id (contd.) (III.R.6)	1039	Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Bushtaniqānī (III.R.16)	1098
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ustuwā'i (III.Q.45)	1051	Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Ustuwā'i (III.R.11)	1077
Abū-Naṣr al-Ustuwā'i (III.R.12)	1089	Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad (IV.Z.2)	1132-3
Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad (IV.Z.2)	1132-3	Abū-Ja'far al-Faqīh (IV.Z.1)	1125

## B. THE SHĀFI'ITES AND ASH'ARITES

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Ash-Shāfi'i	820	Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1)	852
Abū-'Ubayda	825	Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī (I.C.2)	859
Ishāq ibn-Rāhūya (I.C.1)	852	Dawūd az-Zāhiri (I.D.1)	884
Aḥmad ibn-Ḥanbal	855	"	
Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Qurashī (I.C.2)	859	Ibn-Khuzayma (II.K.4)	923
Abū-Ibrāhīm al-Muzanī	877	Abū-'Awāna (II.I.16)	928-9
Dawūd az-Zāhiri	884	Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Būshanjī (II.K.1)	902
Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Marwazī	906	Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī (II.K.6)	939
Ibn-Khuzayma	923	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī (II.K.5)	935

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Ibn-Khuzayma (contd.)	923	Ibn-Ḥibbān (II.K.9)	965
"		Ḥusaynak (II.K.12)	985
Abū-'l-'Abbās as-Sarrāj (II.I.12)	925	Abū-'l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭarā'ifī (II.K.14)	
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī (II.K.5)	935	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Arūḍī (II.K.11)	981
"		Abū-Muḥammad al-Māhānī (II.K.18)	998
Ibn-Ash-Sharqī (II.I.21)	936	Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣibghī (II.K.7)	955
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ash'arī	936	Abū-Sahl aṣ-Su'būkī (II.L.1)	980
Abū-'Alī ath-Thaqafī (II.K.6)	939	Abū-Muḥammad al-Māhānī (II.K.18)	998
"		Abū-Sahl aṣ-Su'lūkī (II.L.1)	980
Abū-'Amr az-Zardī (II.P.2)	949	Abū-Manṣūr an-Naysābūrī (II.L.3)	998
Abū-Ḥamid al-Khāzranjī (II.P.3)	959	"	
Abū-Sahl-al-Khalīlī	-	"	
'Alī ibn-al-Walīd	-	"	
Abū-Hurayra	-	"	
"	-	Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3)	
Ibn-Surayj	-	Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī (II.K.8)	960
Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī (II.K.8)	960	Muḥammad al-Qurashī (II.K.10)	991



The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī (contd.)	960	Ibn-Najjār (II.K.15)	991
"		Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3)	1014
"		Abū-Ṭahir az-Ziyādī (III.Q.6)	1019
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sarrāj (III.Q.17)	1027
"		Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī (III.S.6)	1030
Abū-Ishāq al-Marwazī	-	Abū-'l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī (II.K.13)	986
"		Abū-'l-Ḥasan al- Masarjisi (II.K.16)	994
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī (III.T.7)	1061
Ibn-Ḥibbān (II.K.9)	965	Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3)	1014
Abū-Bakr al-Qaffāl	975	Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq (II.V.1)	1014
"		Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (III.S.9)	1047
"		Abū-Sa'īd al-Mayhanī (III.V.5)	1049
Abū-Sahl aṣ-Su'lukī (II.L.1)	980	Al-Khatan (II.K.17)	996
"		Abū-ṭ-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1013
"		Al-Ḥākim an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3)	1014
"		Abū-'Amr al-Biṣṭāmī (III.S.3)	1036
"		Abū-Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (III.S.9)	1048

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Sahl aṣ-Su'lūkī (contd.)	980	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī (III.Q.56)	1074
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Masarjisi (II.K.16)	994	Abū-Sa'd al-Kharkūshī (III.T.2)	1017
"		Abū-'t-Tayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058
"		Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭār (III.S.13)	1061
Dāraquṭnī	995	Abū-'t-Tayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058
An-Nahrawānī	1001	"	
Abū-Bakr al-Ismā'īlī	1001	Abū-Ishāq al-Isfara'īnī (III.T.3)	1027
Abū-Muḥammad as-Sijzī	-	"	
Abū-Muḥammad al-Bāfī	1007	Abū-Bakr an-Nūqānī (III.S.5)	1025
"		Abū-'t-Tayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058
Abū-'t-Tayyib aṣ-Su'lūkī (III.S.2)	1013	Abū-'Uthman aṣ-Ṣabūnī (III.Q.48)	1041
"		Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umarī (III.S.11)	1053
"		Abū-Ishāq ash-Shirāzī (III.S.20)	1083
"		Abū-Turāb an-Narīsī (III.R.15)	1097
Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysāburī (III.Q.3)	1014	Abū-Bakr al-Fārisī (III.Q.21)	1029
"		Ibn-'Alīk (III.Q.38)	1039
"		Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III.Q.54)	1066

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Ḥamid al-Isfara'ini	1015-6	Abū-'Amr al-Bisṭāmī (III.S.3)	1016-7
"		Abū-'l-Ṭayyib at-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058
"		Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī	1074
'Abd-Allāh al-Isbahānī	-	Ibn-Furak (III.T.1)	1015-6
Ibn-Furak (III.T.1)	1015-6	Abū-'Uthmān aṣ-Ṣabūnī (III.Q.48)	1057
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim aṣ-Ṣayrafī (III.T.6)	1059
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
"		Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Mu'adhdhin (III.Q.62)	1084
Abū-Ṭāhir az-Ziyādī	1019	Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-'Umārī (III.S.11)	1053
Abū-Ishāq al-Isfara'ini	1027	Abū-Manṣūr al-Baghdādī (III.T.5)	1037-8
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
"		Abū-Ḥatīm al-Khaṭībī (III.S.24)	1095
Abū-Bakr at-Ṭūsī	-	Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Nūqānī (III.S.21)	1086
Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Qazzaz	-	Abū-Bakr al-Furakī (III.T.8)	1085
Al-Ḥusayn al-Qādī	-	Abū-Muḥammad al-Astarābadhī (III.S.27)	1097
"		Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Arghiyānī (IV.AA.1)	1141

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Sahl al-Abīwardī	-	Abū-Bakr al-Khujandī (IV. S.23)	1090
‘Alī-al-Jazarī	-	Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī (III.S.20)	1083
Al-Bayḍāwī	1033	"	
Ibn-Rāmīn	1039	"	
Ibn-‘Alīk (III.Q.38)	1039	Al-Juwaynī, Imām-al- Haramayn (III.T.9)	1085
Abū-Muḥammad al- Juwaynī (III.S.9)	1047	Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār (III.Š.16)	1075
"		Abū-‘l-Ḥasan al- Bakharzī (III.X.17)	1075
"		Al-Juwaynī, Imām-al- Haramayn (III.T.9)	1085
Abū-Ḥatīm al-Qazwīnī	1049	Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī (III.S.20)	1083
Abū-‘l-Faṭḥ al-‘Umarī (III.S.11)	1053	Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III.Q.54)	1066
"		Az-Zubayrī (III.S.18)	1081
"		Abū-Muḥammad al- Astarābadhī (III.S.26)	1097
"		Abū-‘l-Maḥāsīn ar- Ruyānī (IV, AA.3)	1108-9
Abū-‘l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī (III.T.7)	1061	Al-Juwaynī Imām-al- Haramayn (III.T.9)	1085
Abū-‘l-Qāsim al- Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072	Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār (III.Š.16)	1075

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (contd.)	1072	Abū-Bakr as-Sarrāj (III.Q.70)	1097
"		Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV.BB.3)	1120
"		'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī (IV.Y.8)	1134-5
Abū-Ishāq ash-Shīrāzī (III.S.20)	1083	Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī (IV.AA.4)	1114
"		Abū-'l-Ghannā'im al-Mushīlī (IV.AA.11)	1130
Al-Juwaynī Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III.T.9)	1085	Abū-'Alī al-'Uthmānī (III.X.17)	1075
"		Abū-'l-Muzaffar as-Sam'ānī (III.S.25)	1096
"		Abū-Muḥammad al-Astarābadhī (III.S.26)	1097
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Juwaynī (III.S.27)	1098
"		Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Arghiyānī (IV.AA.1)	1105
"		Abū-'l-Muzaffar al-Khawāfī (IV.AA.12)	1106
"		Al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111
"		Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī (IV.BB.1)	1116
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (IV.BB.2)	1118
"		Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭā'ī (IV.AA.6)	1118

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Al-Juwaynī Imām-al-Haramayn (contd.)	1085	Ash-Shabbāk (IV.AA.7)	1119
"		Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV.BB.3)	1120
"		Abū-'l-Ma'ālī aṭ-Ṭūsī (IV.AA.8)	1121
"		Al-Abīwardī (IV.AA.10)	1128-9
"		Abū-'l-Ghanā'im al-Mushilī (IV.AA.11)	1130
"		Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī (IV.AA.12)	1134
"		'Abd-al-Ghāfir al-Farīsī (IV.Y.8)	1134-5
"		Abū-Sa'd al-Mu'adhdhin (IV.BB.4)	1136-7
"		Al-Aḥdath (IV.AA.14)	1139
"		Al-Khuwārī (IV.AA.17)	1141
"		Ad-Damghānī (IV.AA.18)	1050
"		Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Khawafī (IV.AA.28)	1160-1
Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ānī (III.S.25)	1096	Abū-Sa'd al-Mu'adhdhin (IV.BB.4)	1136-7
"		Abū-Bakr al-Būshanjī (IV.AA.21)	1151
Al-Khawafī (IV.AA.2)	1106	Ash-Shahrastānī (IV.BB.6)	1153
"		Muḥammad ibn-Yahya (IV.AA.22)	1153

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Ad-Dihistānī (IV.Y.4)	1109	Al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111
Abū-Naṣr al-Ismā'īlī	-	"	
Aḥmad ar-Rādhakānī	-	"	
Al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111	Abū-'l-Fath ad-Duwīnī (IV.AA.20)	1151
"		Muḥammad ibn-Yahya (IV.AA.22)	1153
"		Abū-'l-Fath al-Bāqarḥī (IV.AA.27)	1158
"		Abū-Manṣūr al-Wa'īd (IV.AA.29)	1177
Abū-Bakr as-Sam'ānī (IV.AA.5)	1115	Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sam'ānī (IV.AA.15)	1139
"		Abū-Muḥammad al-Kūfanī (IV.AA.25)	1156-7
"		Abū-Manṣūr al-Wa'īd (IV.AA.29)	1177
"		'Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Labbād (IV.AA.33)	1190
Ilkiya-al-Harrāsī (IV.BB.1)	1116	Abū-'l-Fath al-Bāqarḥī (IV.AA.27)	1158
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (IV.BB.2)	1118	Ash-Shahrastānī (IV.BB.6)	1153
Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV.BB.3)	1120	Al-Aghmaṭī (IV.AA.9)	1122
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sakhtinī (IV.AA.23)	1153
"		Al-Kharjirdī (IV.AA.24)	1153
"		Ash-Shahrastānī (IV.BB.6)	1153
"		Abū-'l-Fath al-Bāqarḥī (IV.AA.27)	1158

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV.BB.3)	1120	Abū-Ḥafṣ aṣ-Ṣaffār (IV.AA.26)	1158
"		‘Abd-ar-Raḥmān al-Labbād (IV.AA.33)	1190
Muḥammad ibn-Yaḥya (IV.AA.22)	1153	Sharafshā (IV.AA.19)	1151
"		Abū-’l-Faḍl aṭ-Ṭabarī (IV.CC.4)	1198
"		Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysaburī (IV.AA.30)	1183
"		Al-Qazwīnī (IV.AA.31)	1184-5
"		Abū-Ḥamid al-Qazwīnī (IV.AA.32)	1189
"		Al-Khubūshānī (IV.AA.34)	1191
"		Abū-’l-Ḥusayn aṭ-Ṭalaqānī (IV.AA.35)	1193
"		Abū-’l-Muẓaffar ibn-‘Asakir (IV.AA.36)	1194
"		Ibn-Faḍlān (IV.AA.37)	1198
"		Abū-‘Alī al-Wāsiṭī (IV.BB.9)	1209
Quṭb-ad-Dīn an-Naysaburī (IV.AA.30)	1183	Abū-’l-Muẓaffar ibn-‘Asakir (IV.AA.36)	1194
"		Abū-’l-Ḥasan al-Juwaynī (IV.AA.39)	1220-1
Ibn-Faḍlān (IV.AA.37)	1198	Abū-‘Alī al-Wāsiṭī (IV.BB.9)	1209
Fakhr-ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī	1209	Al-Quṭb al-Miṣrī (IV.BB.10)	1221



## C. THE KARRĀMITES (HAYDAMITES)

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Mu'ādh ibn-Muḥammad	-	Muḥammad ibn-Mu'ādh (III.U.2)	1029
Ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.8)	-	"	
"		'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.4)	1048-9
"		Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.5)	1074
"		Ad-Dūrī (III.U.9)	-
'Abd-as-Sallām ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.4)	1048-9	Abū-Bakr ibn-al-Hayḍam (III.U.5)	1074

## D. THE MYSTICS

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Christian Monk	-	'Abd-Allāh ibn-al-Mubarak (I.F.1)	796
Aḥmad ibn-Ḥarb	848	Ibn-Karrām (I.E.1)	869
Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi (I.F.3)	854	Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Ḥaddād (I.F.5)	883
'Alī-an-Naṣrābādī	-	Ḥamdūn al-Qaṣṣār (I.F.6)	884
Abū-Turāb an-Nakhshabī	859	Shāh-Shūjā' al-Kirmanī (II.N.1)	903
Ibn-Karrām (I.E.1)	869	Yahya ibn-Mu'ādh ar-Razī (I.F.4)	871

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Yahya ibn-Mu'adh ar-Rāzī (I.F.4)	871	Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī (II.N.2)	910
Ṭayfur al-Bisṭāmī	874	Faṭīma-an-Naysābūriyya (I.F.2)	837
"		Ibn-Khaḍrawayhi (I.F.3)	854
Abū-Hafṣ al-Ḥaddād (I.F.5)	883	Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī (II.N.2)	910
"		Maḥfūz an-Naysābūrī (II.N.3)	915-6
"		Al-Murta'ish (II.N.6)	939
Abū-'Uthmān al-Ḥirī (II.N.2)	910	Maḥfūz an-Naysābūrī (II.N.3)	916-17
"		Abū-Ja'far al-Ḥirī (II.I.11)	923
"		Abū-'l-Ḥusayn al-Warrāq (II.N.5)	925
"		Al-Murta'ish (II.N.6)	939
"		Ash-Sha'rānī (II.N.9)	964
"		Ibn-Bundār (II.N.10)	969
"		Ibn-Najīd (II.N.11)	976
Ibn-Najīd (II.N.11)	976	Abū-'Abd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (III.V.2)	1021-2
Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naṣrābadhī (II.N.12)	977	"	
"		Abū-'Alī ad-Daqqāq (III.V.1)	1014

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-ʿAlī ad-Daqqāq (III.V.1)	1014	Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
"		Abū-ʿl-Muzaffar ash-Shujāʿī (III.V.9)	1072
"		Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī (III.Q.56)	1074
"		Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Muʾadhdhin (III.Q.62)	1084
"		Abū-ʿAmr as-Sulamī (III.V.16)	1089
Abū-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān as-Sulamī (III.V.2)	1021-22	Ibn-Bākuwayhi (III.V.3)	1036-7
"		Abū-Saʿīd al-Khashshāb (III.Q.53)	1063
"		Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
"		Abū-ʿl-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī (III.Q.56)	1074
"		Abū-Saʿīd al-Mayhanī (III.V.5)	1049
Abū-ʿl-Faḍl al-Ḥasan	-	"	
Abū-ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Qaṣṣāb	-	"	
Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072	Abū-Ṣāliḥ an-Naysāburī (III.V.6)	1066
"		Abū-Ṣāliḥ al-Muʾadhdhin (III.Q.62)	1084
"		Abū-Saʿīd al-Qushayrī (III.V.10)	1084
"		Abū-ʿAlī al-Fārmadhī (III.V.11)	1084

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (contd.)	1072	Abū-Bakr ash-Shīrāzī (III.V.12)	1085
"		Abū-Bakr al-Māwardī (III.V.14)	1088
"		Abū-Ṣālih aṣ-Ṣufī (III.V.15)	1088
"		Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Anṣārī (IV.BB.2)	1118
"		Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Qushayrī (IV.CC.3)	1127
Abū-Bakr Yūsuf an-Nassāj	-	Al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111
Abū-'Alī al-Fārmadhī (III.V.11)	1084	"	
Fāṭima bint-ad-Daqqāq (III.V.13)	1087	Amat-ar-Raḥmān (III.V.18)	1093

## E. THE READERS AND THE COMMENTATORS OF THE QUR'ĀN

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Muqātil ibn-Ḥayyān	-	Bukayr ibn-Ma'rūf an-Naysaburī (I.G.1)	779
Al-Kisā'ī	805	Abū-'Alī an-Naysaburī (I.A.1)	817
"		Ibn-Abī-'Amr an-Naysaburī (I.G.2)	825
Abū-'l-Ash'ath	-	Abū-Ḥamid al-Muqri' (II.O.2)	955
'Umar ibn-Shu'ba	-		

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Ibn-Mujāhid	935	Abū-'l-Husayn al-Hajjajī (II.0.3)	978
"		Abū-'Alī as-Sarakhsī (II.0.5)	998
'Alī ibn-an-Naqqāsh	-	Ibn-Mihrān (II.0.4)	998
Abū-Bakr al-Hāshimī	-	"	
'Alī ibn-al-Akhram	-	"	
Qunbul al-Makkī	-	"	
Abū-'l-Ḥasan an-Nabbāl	-	"	
Ibn-Mihrān (II.0.4)	998	Abū-Sa'd ash-Shāmātī (III.W.4)	1062
Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Bustī (III.X.3)	1009	Al-Wāhidī (III.W.6)	1076
Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Naḥwī (III.W.1)	1015	Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī (III.W.2)	1038
Abū-'l-Husayn al-Fārisī (III.X.8)	1030	Al-Wāhidī (III.W.6)	1076
Abū-Ishāq ath-Tha'labī (III.W.2)	1038	"	
Al-Wāhidī (III.W.6)	1076	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Mufassir (III.W.8)	1096
Abū-Sa'id al-Isma'īlī	-	Abū-'ṭ-Tayyib at-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Kajj	-	"	
Abū-Naṣr ar-Rāmishī (III.X.20)	1086	Al-Ghazzālī (IV.DD.1)	1122
At-Ṭayyān (IV.DD.2)	1134	Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ānī (IV.Y.17)	

## F. THE MEN OF LETTERS AND THE POETS

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Al-Khalīl ibn-Aḥmad	791	Abū-'l-Minhāl al-Muhallabī (I.H.4)	-
Abū-'l-'Amaythal al-A'rabi (I.H.2)	854	Abū-Sa'id aḍ-Ḍarīr (I.H.3)	895
Abū-Sa'id aḍ-Ḍarīr (I.H.3)	895	Abū-Ishāq ad-Mughaythī	-
Al-Mubarrad	898	"	
Tha'lab	904	"	
Abū-Ishāq al-Mughaythī (II.P.6)	-	Abū-'Alī as-Sallāmī (II.P.1)	913
Abū-'Alī as-Sallāmī (II.P.1)	913	Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī (II.P.5)	992
Ibn-Durayd	934	Abū-'l-'Abbās al-Mikālī (II.P.4)	973
Al-Ḥasan ibn-al-Mihrajān	-	Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī (II.P.7)	-
Abū-Sa'id as-Sirāfī	978	Al-Jawharī (III.X.1)	1002
Abū-'Alī al-Fārisī	-	"	
Abū-Bakr al-Khwārizmī (II.P.5)	992	Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Harawī (III.X.4)	1023
"		Ibn-al-Ashrus (III.X.6)	1027
"		Qādī Sa'id (III.R.6)	1039
Ibn-Fāris	1005	Badī'-az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī (III.X.2)	1008
Abū-'l-Faḍl aṣ-Ṣaffār (III.X.5)	1025-6	Al-Wāhidī (III.W.6)	1070
Ibn-Dawast (III.X.9)	1031	Al-Baḥḥāthī (III.X.14)	1070

The teacher	year of death	The pupil	year of death
Ibn-Dawast (contd.)	1031	Abū-Yūsuf al-Kurđī (III.X.18)	1081
Ath-Tha'ālibī (III.X.11)	1038	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bakharzī (III.X.15)	1075
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī (III.K.25)	-	Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī (III.V.8)	1072
Abū-'Alī al-Fanjukirdī	-	Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Būshanjī (III.Q.56)	1074
Al-Baḥḥāthī (III.X.14)	1070	Abū-'l-Qāsim az-Zawzanī (III.X.23)	1098
'Alī al-Adīb	-	Al-Fanjukirdī (IV.EE.2)	1119
Al-Wahidī (III.W.6)	1076	Al-Maydānī (IV.EE.5)	1124
"		Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Quhandizī (III.X.24)	-
Ibn-Faḍḍāl (III.X.21)	1086	Ibn-Funduq (III.EE.12)	1169-70
'Umar al-Khayyām (IV.EE.3)	1120	"	
Al-Maydānī (IV.EE.5)	1124	Abū-Naṣr al-Alma'ī (IV.EE.4)	1122
"		Bū-Ja'farak (IV.DD.4)	1149
"		Ibn-Funduq (IV.EE.12)	1169-70
Abū-Sa'd al-Maydānī (IV.EE.7)	1144-5	Maḥmūd al-Harawī (IV.EE.15)	-
Abū-'l-Futūḥ Riḍā	-	As-Siqīlī (IV.EE.6)	1139
Al-Ḥasan al-Ghāzī	-	Aṣ-Ṣawābī (IV.EE.8)	1149
Taj-al-Qurrā' al-Kirmanī	-	Aṭ-Ṭabarsī (IV.EE.9)	1153

LIST NO.2: THE SCHOLARS WHO TAUGHT IN THE MADRASAS

The teacher	year of death	The name of the madrasa and its situation:	founded by
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī (II.K.5)	935	Bayhaqiyya in Nishapur	The teacher himself
Abū-'l-Walīd al-Qurashī (II.K.8)	960	(un-named) in Nishapur	Unknown
Ibn-Hibbān (II.K.9)	965	Ibn-Hibbān <u>Khanqāh</u> in Nishapur <sup>1</sup>	The teacher himself
Abū-Bakr ash-Shahuwī (II.J.13)	972-3	Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr in Bukhāra	Abū-Ḥafṣ al-Kabīr
Abū-'Alī-as-Samarqandī (III.R.1)	1005	(un-named) in Nishapur	The teacher himself
Ibn-Fūrak (III.T.1)	1015-16	(un-named) in Nishapur	The people of Nishapur for Ibn-Fūrak
Abū-Ishāq al-Isfara'ī (III.T.3)		(un-named) in Nishapur	The people of Nishapur for al-Isfara'ī
Abū-Bakr al-Bustī (III.S.8)	1037	Al-Jami' al-Qadīm in Nishapur	Unknown
Qādī Ṣa'id (III.R.6)	1039	(un-named) in Nishapur	The military governor of Khurasan Naṣr ibn-Sebüktigin for Qādī Ṣa'id
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskafī (III.T.7)	1061	Bayhaqiyya in Nishapur	

1. The khanqāh was altered into a madrasa after the death of the founder. cf. above, 182.



The teacher	year of death	The name of the madrasa and its situation	founded by
Abū-Sa'd ash-Shamati (III.W.4)	1062	Mushshuṭiyya in Nishapur	Unknown
Ibn-Abī-'ṭ-Tayyib (III.W.5)	1066	(un-named) in Isfara'in	The notable Abū-'l-Qasim 'Alī-ibn-Muḥammad for Ibn -Abī-'ṭ-Tayyib
Abū-Bakr al-Bayhaqī (III.Q.54)	1066	Sūrī in Nishapur	Unknown
Abū-Sahl al-Marwazī (III.Q.55)	1072	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	The Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk
Abū-Sa'd ar-Ramishī (III.Q.60)	1081	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	"
Ash-Shāshī (III.S.19)	1082	Nizāmiyya in Herat	"
Abū-Ishāq ash-Shirazī (III.S.20)	1083	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Jurjani (III.Q.61)	1084	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-Ṣalīḥ al-Mu'adhdhin (III.Q.62)	1084	Bayhaqiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-Bakr al-Fūrakī (III.T.8)	1085	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
al-Juwaynī, Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III.T.9)	1085	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-Bakr ash-Shirazī (III.V.12)	1085	"	

The teacher	year of death	The name of the madrasa and its situation	founded by
Abū-Naṣr ar-Ramishī (III.X.20)	1086	Niẓāmiyya of Nishapur	
Abū-'l-Qāsim an-Nuḡani (III.S.21)	1086	"	
Abū-'l-Faḍl aṭ-Tabasī (III.Q.66)	1089	"	
Abū-'l-Qāsim ad-Dabūsī (III.S.22)	1089	Niẓāmiyya in Baghdaḍ	
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Mufasssīr (III.W.8)	1090	Niẓāmiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-Bakr al-Khujandī (III.S.23)	1090	Niẓāmiyya in Iṣpahan	The vizier Niẓām-al-Mulk
Abū-'l-Ḥasan aṣ-Ṣandali (III.R.14)	1091	Ṣandaliyya in Nishapur	The Ḥanafites of Nishapur for aṣ-Ṣandali
Abū-Ḥatīm al-Khaṭībī (III.S.24)	1095	Murabba'a in Nishapur	The teacher himself
Abū-'l-Muẓaffar as-Sam'ani (III.S.25)	1096	Shāfi'iyya in Marw	Unknown
Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-'Alawī (III.Q.73)	1098	Mushshuṭiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-'l-Husayn al-Wasiṭī (III.S.28)	1098	"	
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Maghribī (III.X.25)	-	Niẓāmiyya in Nishapur	

The teacher	year of death	The name of the madrasa and its situation	founded by
Abū-Sa'īd al-Qushayrī (IV.Y.1)	1101	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	
Abū-'l-Mahāsīn ar-Ruyānī (IV.AA.3)	1108-9	Nizāmiyya in Tabaristan	The Vizier Nizām-al-Mulk
Abū-Hamīd al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad and in Nishapur	
Abū-Bakr ash-Shāshī (IV.AA.4)	1114	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
Ilkiya al-Harrāsī (IV.BB.1)	1116	" in Nishapur and Baghdad	
Ash-Shabbāk (IV.AA.7)	1119	Un-named in Gurgān	The teacher himself
Abū-Naṣr al-Qushayrī (IV.BB.3)	1120	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
Abū-'l-Ma'ālī at-Tūsī (IV.AA.8)	1121	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	
Al-Furāwī (IV.Y.9)	1136	Nāṣihīyya in Nishapur	Unknown
Abū-Bakr al-Bushanjī (IV.AA.34)	1151	Bayhaqiyya in Nishapur	
Muḥammad ibn-Yahya (IV.AA.22)	1153	Nizāmiyya in Herat and in Nishapur	
Ash-Shahrastānī (IV.BB.6)	1153	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Baqarhī (IV.AA.27)	1158	"	
Abū-'l-Ma'ālī al-Khawafī (IV.AA.28)	1160-61	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	

The teacher	year of death	The name of the madrasa and its situation	founded by
Abū-Sa'd as-Sam'ani (IV.Y.16)	1166	'Amīdiyya in Marw	Unknown
Qutb-ad-Dīn an-Naysabūrī (IV.AA.30)	1183	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	
		Mujādiyya in Damascus	Unknown
		(un-named) in Allepo	The Sultan Nur-ad-Din
		and	Mahmūd
		(un-named) in Allepo	Asad-ad-Dīn Shiruh
Al-Khubūshani (IV.AA.34)	1191	Shāfi'iyya in Cairo	The Sultan Ṣalah-ad-Dīn for the teacher himself
Abū-'l-Ḥusayn at-Talaqani (IV.AA.35)	1193	Nizāmiyya in Baghdad	
Abū-'Abd-Allāh an-Nuqani (IV.BB.8)	1195	Qaysarāniyya in Baghdad	The mother of the Caliph an-Nāṣir
Abū-'Alī al-Wāsiṭī (IV.BB.9)	1209	Nizāmiyya in Nishapur	

LIST NO.3: THE QĀDĪS AND THE CHIEFS OF THE QĀDĪS

The scholar	year of death	occupied the office of:
Bukayr an-Naysābūrī (I.G.1)	779	<u>qāḍī</u> of Nishapur
Abū-ʿUmar al-Faḡīh (I.B.2)	814	" " "
Abū-ʿAmr as-Sulamī (I.A.3)	824	" " "
Abū-ʿAbd-ar-Raḥmān al-Baṣrī (I.A.9)	846	" " Kirmān
Al-Ḥusayn al-Qāḍī (I.B.8)	856	" " Nishapur
Abū-Mūsā al-Anṣārī (I.A.13)	858	" " "
Al-Ḥasan ibn-Bishr (I.B.9)	858	" " "
Abū-Yaḥya al-ʿAtakī (I.B.12)	881	" " Herat
Ibn-Salmuwayhi (II.J.4)	910	" " Nishapur
Ibn-Mansūr (II.I.29)	956	" " Tūs
Qāḍī-al-Ḥaramayn (II.J.11)	962	" " Mawṣil Ramla (Mecca and Medina), and Nishapur
Abū-Muḥammad al-Marwazī (II.J.12)	964	" " Nishapur
Ibn-Hibbān (II.K.9)	965	" " Samarqand
Abū-Bakr Ash-Shāhūwī (II.J.13)	972-3	" " Fārs
Abū-Saʿīd as-Sijzī (II.J.14)	978	" " Samarqand and Nasa
Abū-ʿl-Qāsim al-Bukhārī (II.J.15)	979	" " Marw, Herat Samarqand, Shash

The scholar	year of death	occupied the office of:
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Bukhārī (contd.)	979	Farghāna, Bukhārā and Nishapur
Abū-Naṣr al-Qāḍī (II.J.18)	998	" " Nishapur
Abū-Aḥmad al-Ḥakīm (II.I.43)	998	" " Shāsh, and Ṭarsūs
Al-Ḥakīm an-Naysābūrī (III.Q.3)	1014	" " Nasa
Abū-'l-Haytham (III.R.2)	1015	" " Nishapur
Abū-'Umar al-Biṣṭāmī (III.S.3)	1016-17	" " "
Ash-Shālānjī (III.Q.20)	1027	" " Gurgān
Abū-Bakr al-Ḥirī (III.S.6)	1030	" " Nishapur
Qāḍī Ṣa'id (III.R.6)	1039	" " "
Ibn-Abī-'l-Haytham (III.R.7)	1039	" " "
Abū-'l-Ḥasan al-Ustuwā'ī (III.Q.45)	1051	<u>qāḍī al-quḍāt</u> of all the cities of Rayy, Ṭus, and Nasa.
Abū-'t-Ṭayyib aṭ-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058	<u>qāḍī al-quḍāt</u> of Baghdad
Yahya aṣ-Ṣa'idī (III.R.9)	1069	<u>qāḍī</u> of Rayy
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Ustuwā'ī (III.R.11)	1077	<u>qāḍī al-quḍāt</u> of Nishapur
Az-Zubayrī (III.S.18)	1081	<u>qāḍī</u> of Ṭabaristān

The scholar	year of death	occupied the office of:
Abū-Naṣr ad-Ustuwā'i (III.R.12)	1089	<u>qāḍī al-quḍāt</u> of Nishapur
Abū-Bakr an-Nāṣiḥī (III.R.13)	1091	<u>qāḍī</u> of Nishapur
Abū-'l-Faṭḥ al-Arghiyānī (IV.AA.1)	1105	" " Arghiyān
Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Khawāfī (IV.AA.2)	1106	" " Ṭūs
Abū-'l-Muẓaffar al-Juwaynī (IV.Y.3)	1107	" " Juwayn
Abū-'l-Maḥāsin ar-Rūyānī (IV.AA.3)	1108-9	" " Ṭabaristān
Ilkiyā-al-Harrāsī (IV.BB.1)	1116	<u>qāḍī al-quḍāt</u> of Baghdad
Abū-Sa'd Muḥammad (IV.Z.2)	1132	" " Nishapur
Ad-Dāmghānī (IV.AA.18)	1150	" " Dāmghān
Al-Burhān (IV.Z.4)	1157-8	" " Nishapur
Ibn-Funduq (IV.EE.12)	1169-70	" " Bayhaq

LIST NO.4: THE SCHOLARS WHO ACTED AS MUFTĪS

The scholar	year of death	acted as <u>muftī</u> or gave <u>fatwā</u> in:
Ibn-Abī-'l-Azhar (I.B.5)	828	Kūfa
Al-Hasan ibn-Bishr (I.B.9)	858	Nishapur
Hikān (I.B.11)	881	"
Dāwūd az-Zāhirī (I.D.1)	884	Baghdad
Abū-'Abd-Allāh al-Marwazī (II.K.2)	906	Nishapur
Abū-'Amr al-Khaffāf (II.I.5)	911	"
Abū-Ḥamza al-Khurāsānī (II.N.4)	921	"
Abū-'l-Hasan al-Bayhaqī (II.K.5)	935	"
Abū-'l-'Abbās at-Ṭabbānī (II.J.10)	960	"
Ash-Shārakī (II.I.34)	965	Herat
Abū-'l-Qāsim ad-Dārakī (II.K.13)	986	Baghdad
Abū-Naṣr al-Qāḍī (II.J.18)	998	Nishapur
Abū-'Alī as-Samarqandī (III.R.1)	1005	"
Abū-'ṭ-Ṭayyib aṣ-Ṣu'lukī (III.S.2)	1013	"
Abū-'l-Haytham (III.R.2)	1015	"
Abū-Bakr an-Nasā'ī (III.Q.18)	1027	"



The scholar	year of death	acted as <u>mufti</u> or gave <u>fatwa</u> in:
Abū-Bakr ash-Shālanjī (III.Q.20)	1027	Gurgān
Abū-Bakr an-Nūqānī (III.S.5)	1029	Nishapur
Qādī Sā'id (III.R.6)	1039	"
Abū-Muhammad al-Juwaynī (III.S.9)	1047	"
Abū-'l-Fath al-'Umārī (III.S.11)	1053	"
Abū-'l-Tayyib at-Ṭabarī (III.S.12)	1058	Baghdad
Abū-'l-Qāsim al-Iskāfī (III.T.7)	1061	Nishapur
Abū-'l-Hasan al-Būshanjī (III.Q.56)	1074	Būshanj
Abū-Bakr aṣ-Ṣaffār (III.S.16)	1075	Nishapur
Al-Juwaynī, Imām-al-Ḥaramayn (III.T.9)	1085	"
Al-Ghazālī (IV.CC.1)	1111	Baghdad
Al-Ghazzālī (IV.DD.1)	1122	Nishapur
Abū-Naṣr al-Arghiyānī (IV.AA.12)	1134	Arghiyān
Al-Furāwī (IV.Y.19)	1136	Nishapur
Abū-'l-Qāsim as-Sam'ānī (IV.AA.15)	1139	Marw
Al-Khuwārī (IV.AA.17)	1141	Nishapur

The scholar	year of death	acted as <u>mufti</u> or <u>fatwa</u> in:
Sharafshā (IV.AA.19)	1151	Nishapur
Qutb-ad-Dīn an-Naysāburī (IV.AA.30)	1183	Damascus
Al-Qazwīnī (IV.AA.31)	1084-5	Qazwīn
Abū-Bakr aṣ-Saffār (IV.AA.40)	1221	Nishapur

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